

MEMOIRS

JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

MEMOIRS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

VOL. II



PARIS:

PUBLISHED BY A. AND W. GAILLON.

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BY SIR WALTER SCOTT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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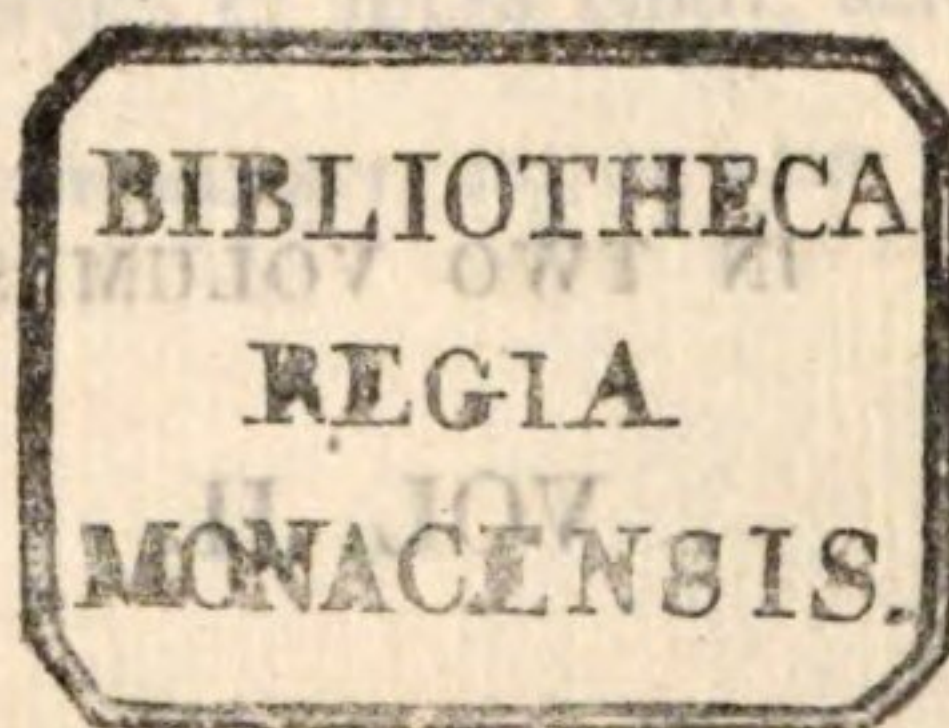
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WHEN Wood's project appeared to be on the verge of being abandoned, Swift, as if desirous of escaping from the popular applause which hailed him from every quarter, retreated with Mrs Dingley and Mrs Johnson to Quilca, a small country-house belonging to his intimate friend Dr Sheridan, in a wild and se-

questered situation, about seven miles from the town of Kells. In this retirement, where the want of accommodation became the subject of one or two of those pieces of humour which he has called *family trifles*, he remained for several months. He seems to have meditated a final blow at Wood and his halfpence; but, hearing the patent was resigned, he stopped the publication of the intended treatise. This was probably the seventh letter, which did not appear until the Dean's works were collected, in 1735. Meanwhile the inadvertence of his friend Sheridan engaged him in a very troublesome affair, in which Swift laboured hard to protect and assist him.

Dr Sheridan, highly respectable for wit, learning, and an uncommon talent for the education of youth, and no less distinguished by his habits of abstraction and absence, and by a simplicity of character which ill suited with his worldly interest, had been Swift's friend of every mood and of all hours, since the Dean's retirement into Ireland. A happy art of meeting and answering the raillery of his friend, and of writing with facility verses upon domestic jests or occasional incidents, amused Swift's lighter moments, while Sheridan's sound and extensive erudition enlightened those which were more serious. It was in his society that Swift renewed his acquaintance with classical learning, and perused the

works which amused his retirement. In the invitations sent to the Dean, Sheridan was always included; nor was Swift to be seen in perfect good humour, unless when he made part of the company. Indeed, Sheridan understood the Dean's temper so well, and knew so happily how to arrest, by some sudden stroke of humour, those fits of violent irritability to which Swift's mind was liable, as his outward frame was to those of vertigo, that he was termed, among their common friends, the David who alone could play the evil spirit out of Saul. Swift was not insensible of the value of such a friend, nor unwilling to repay his services by every means in his power. His high rank and character enabled him to promote the flourishing state of Sheridan's school, which was then the first in the kingdom. But the improvidence of the generous but imprudent teacher, frustrated the kind intentions of his patron; for with a wife and increasing family, his expenses kept pace with his income; and Swift saw with regret that nothing but a removal from the capital would prevent his being ultimately in distressed circumstances. With this friendly purpose, the Dean obtained from the Lord-Primate Lindsay, an offer of the richly-endowed school of Armagh for Sheridan. But the specious arguments of some persons who pretended to be the well-wishers of this unsuspecting and single-heart-

ed character, prevailed upon him to decline this offer. He had leisure to reflect upon his folly when, some years afterwards, the same individuals countenanced another school in opposition to his, and at length compelled him to abandon Dublin.¹ But before this event took place, Swift had availed himself of another opportunity to serve him.

Lord Carteret, notwithstanding the prosecution of Harding, and the proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the Drapier, was a friend of Swift, and so far coincided in his political opinions, as to be a secret enemy of Walpole. Thus it was twice Swift's singular fortune to have proclamations sent forth against him, under the authority of ministers, who were not only his personal friends, but who approved in secret of the very treatises against which their public manifestoes were fulminated. Besides, Carteret felt that he had been sent to Ireland only to exercise a

¹ In answer to a letter in which Sheridan complains of his insidious friends, who lulled him asleep until they stole his school into the hands of a blockhead, Swift says, "I own you have too much reason to complain of some friends, who, next to yourself, have done you most hurt; whom I still esteem and frequent, although I confess I cannot heartily forgive. Yet certainly the case was not merely personal malice to you (although it had the same effects), but a kind of I know not what job, which one of them has heartily repented." I suspect Delany to be the person here indicated. He had no good-will to Sheridan.

nominal vice-sovereignty, while the real power was lodged with the primate Boulter, and he was not averse to form a sort of independent party to balance, in some degree, those violent ministerialists by whom he was watched and surrounded. Accordingly, Swift had afterwards occasion in one of his most happy ironical compositions to vindicate the lord-lieutenant from the charge of conferring favours and preferments upon persons disaffected to the king's government.

Through the recommendation of Swift, and from Carteret's own disposition to encourage learning, of which he was a perfect judge, Dr Sheridan was named one of the lord-lieutenant's chaplains, and presented with a small living near Cork. But, alas! while thus mounted on the first round of the ladder of preferment, he had the inadvertence to kick it from beneath him. When he went to Cork to be inducted in his living, Sheridan undertook to preach for Archdeacon Russel of that city, and, without considering that it was the anniversary of the accession of the House of Hanover, he selected a sermon, which had for the text, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." It proved, at least, an evil day for Sheridan, who, as Swift expressed it, shot his fortune dead by chance-medley with this single text. Richard Tighe, a man, according to the Dean, of no great dimensions, either of

body or mind, but mighty in zeal for the House of Hanover and Protestant succession, carried the report full speed to the Castle of Dublin, exaggerating the offence, by alluding to Sheridan's suspected disaffection. Swift, on the other hand, exerted every effort to save his friend from the too probable consequences of this inadvertence. He applied to the lord-lieutenant himself, and to Mr Tickell distinguished by his poems, whose friendship was a legacy from Addison to Swift, and who was now secretary to the lords-justices. But Carteret durst not adventure to give such scandal to the ruling party, as the overlooking this important misdemeanour might have implied. Sheridan was therefore disgraced at the viceregal court, and struck from the list of chaplains. He was in part consoled by the generosity of Archdeacon Russel, who, considering himself as having given occasion to his misfortune, had the munificence to present him with the manor of Drumlane, worth one hundred and fifty pounds yearly. But the demerits of the informer were never pardoned or forgotten by Swift, who made a vow, and kept it well, to persecute Tighe with satire, and never to quit him living or dead.¹

¹ See the various satires against Tighe, entitled Mad Mullinix and Timothy, Tim and the Fables, Tom and Dick, Dick a Maggot, Clad all in Brown, Dick's Variety,

This misfortune of Sheridan embittered the Dean's residence at Quilca, which was otherwise agreeable. His time was chiefly spent in acting as Sheridan's bailiff, overseeing his labourers, and executing plans of improvement for the pleasure of surprising him when vacation permitted him to visit the country.¹ His literary employment was the

etc. besides repeated mention of him under the title of Dick Fitz-Baker, and Pistorides epithets bestowed on Tighe because he was descended from a contractor who supplied Oliver Cromwell's army with bread.

¹ Of this the younger Sheridan has recorded a whimsical instance. The Dean had a mind to surprise the Doctor, on his next visit, with some improvements made at his own expense. Accordingly he had a canal cut of some extent, and at the end of it, by transplanting some young trees, formed an arbour, which he called *Stella's bower*, and surrounded some acres of land about it with a dry-stone wall (for the country afforded no lime), the materials of which were taken from the ground, which was very stony. The Dean had given strict charge to all about him to keep this secret, in order to surprise the Doctor on his arrival; but he had in the mean time received intelligence of all that was going forward. On his coming to Quilca, the Dean took an early opportunity of walking with him carelessly toward this new scene. The Doctor seemed not to take the least notice of any alteration, and, with a most inflexible countenance, continued to talk of indifferent matters. "Confound your stupidity," said Swift, in a rage, "why, you blockhead, don't you see the great improvements I have been making here?" — "Improvements! Mr Dean; why, I see a long bog-hole out of which I suppose you have cut the turf; you have removed some of the young trees, I think, to a

finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing Gulliver's Travels, to be published, he intimates, so soon as he could find a printer cou-

worse situation ; as to taking the stones from the surface of the ground, I allow that is a useful work, as the grass will grow the better for it ; and placing them about the field in that form, will make it more easy to carry them off."—"Plague on your Irish taste," says Swift ; "this is just what I ought to have expected from you ; but neither you nor your forefathers ever made such an improvement ; nor will you be able, while you live, to do any thing like it."

The Doctor was resolved to retaliate on the Dean the first opportunity. It happened when he was down there in one of his vacations, that the Dean was absent for a few days on a visit elsewhere. He took this opportunity of employing a great number of hands to make an island in the middle of the lake, where the water was twenty feet deep ; an arduous work in appearance, but not hard to be executed in a place abounding with large stones upon the surface of the ground, and where long heath grew every where in great plenty ; for, by placing quantities of those stones in large bundles of heath, the space was soon filled up, and a large island formed. To cover this, a sufficient quantity of earth and green sods were brought, and several well-grown osiers, and other aquatics, were removed to it. The Doctor's secret was better kept than Swift's ; who, on his return, walked toward the lake, and, seeing the new island, cried out in astonishment, "Heigh ! how the water of the lake is sunk in this short time to discover that island of which there was no trace before !"—"Greatly sunk indeed," observed the Doctor with a sneer, "if it covered the tops of those osiers." Swift then saw he had been fairly taken in, and acknowledged the Doctor had got the

rageous enough to venture his ears.¹ He admitted Sheridan to this secret labour;² but when Tickell expressed curiosity to see the treatise on which he was at work, he frankly informed him, that it totally disagreed with his notions of persons and things, and, as if conscious of writing to a Secretary of State, he adds, it would be impossible for Mr Tickell to find his treasury of waste papers without searching nine houses, and then sending to him for the key.³ Having completed this celebrated work, the Dean resolved, for the first time since the death of Queen Anne, to revisit England, a

better of him, both in his stratagem, and the beauty of his improvement.

¹ Letter to Pope, 29th September, 1725.

² He tells him in a letter, 11th September, 1725, "You will every day find my description of Yahoos more resembling."

³ Letter to Mr Tickell, 7th July, 1726. He appears to have been anxious to enforce this article upon Mr Tickell; for he writes to Sheridan, 8th July, 1726, "Our friend at the Castle wrote to me about two months ago, to have a sight of these papers, etc. of which I brought away a copy. I have answered him, that whatever papers I have, are conveyed from one place to another, through nine or ten hands, and that I have the key. If he should mention any thing of papers in generale, ither to you or the ladies, and that you can bring it in, I would have you and them confirm the same story, and laugh at my humour in it," etc.

purpose which he accomplished in spring, 1726.

Bolingbroke now returned from his exile, Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, Bathurst, and other old friends, received him with open arms, and with the melancholy pleasure of sailors who meet after a shipwreck, from which they have escaped by different means.

Amongst these friends, Pope, although not by any means the earliest, appears gradually to have become the most intimate. The Dean resided chiefly in his house at Twickenham, and an acquaintance which had begun in Queen Anne's reign, between the protected poet and the patron, gradually ripened into intimate and equal friendship. Their characters were in some respects opposite, but these very points of opposition were such as removed the possibility of rivalry.

Pope's character and habits were exclusively literary, with all the hopes, fears and failings, which are attached to that feverish occupation,—a restless pursuit of poetical fame. Without domestic society, or near relations; separated by weak health and personal disadvantages from the gay; by fineness of mind and lettered indolence, from the busy part of mankind; surrounded only by a few friends, who value these gifts in which he excelled, Pope's whole hopes, wishes, and fears were centred in his literary reputation. To extend

his fame, he laboured, indirectly, as well as directly; and to defend it from the slightest attack, was his daily and nightly anxiety. Hence the restless impatience which that distinguished author displayed under the libels of dunces, whom he ought to have despised, and hence too the venom'd severity with which he retorted their puny attacks. Swift also was irritable and satirical, but from different causes. He never assumed, and probably disdained the character of a mere man of letters, whose sufferings or enjoyments depended upon the public reception of his works. His writings he only valued in so far as they accomplished the purpose for which they were written, and was so far from seeking the reputation which they might have attracted to the author, that he almost in every instance sent them into the world without his name. Hence he felt no jealousy of contemporary authors, and was indifferent to the criticism with which his treatises were assailed, unless in so far as it affected the argument which they were designed to support. Bred under Temple, the favourite of Oxford, and now the patriotic champion of Ireland, his hopes and fears were for the political interests which he espoused; his love was for party-friends, and his hatred and vengeance for political opponents. His feelings were those of a statesman, not of an author, and had been exalted from

the cause of a party, to be fixed upon the liberties of the nation. The pecuniary emoluments of literature Swift seems never to have coveted, and therefore readily abandoned to Pope the care of selecting and arranging their fugitive pieces into three volumes of Miscellanies, as well as the profit which might arise from the publication. He himself was engaged in matters of more momentous importance.

We have observed, that Walpole, now the omnipotent prime-minister, had violently assaulted Swift in the House of Commons, during the ministry of Oxford. Of this the Dean retained no vindictive recollection; for, during the whole controversy about Wood's project, he treated the character of Walpole with considerable respect: and now, upon arriving in London, after having dined with Sir Robert, upon invitation, he obtained an interview with him upon business, for the purpose of representing to him the distressed state of Ireland. The interview was granted through the mediation of the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, and took place on 27th April, 1726. The Dean stated at length the grievances of Ireland, being all that could contribute to render a nation poor and despicable: the nation being controlled by laws, to which her legislature did not consent; their manufactures interdicted, to favour those of England; their

trade cramped and ruined by prohibitions; the natives studiously excluded from all places of honour, trust, or profit; while the conduct of those, to whom the government was delegated, lay under no other check than might arise from her own sense of justice. But Walpole was prepossessed against any statement of the affairs of Ireland that might come from Swift. Ere the Dean had left that kingdom, the primate Boulter, to whom Walpole chiefly confided the efficient power in Irish affairs, had written to the English minister in the following terms: « The general report is, that Dean Swift designs for England in a little time; and we do not question his endeavours to misrepresent his Majesty's friends here, wherever he finds an opportunity: but he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fomentor of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to disserve any of his Majesty's faithful servants, by any thing that is known to come from him: but we could wish some eye were had to what he shall be attempting on your side of the water».¹ Thus prepossessed against all that might come from the author of the *Drapier's Letters*, Walpole turned a deaf ear to the grievances of Ireland; and complain-

¹ See Boulter's Letters. Swift detested Boulter, and Ambrose Philips, his secretary.

ing that the king derived little revenue from that kingdom, proceeded to enlarge upon the opinions which he had adopted from its governors, in a manner which Swift deemed inconsistent with the notions of liberty, which Britons have ever considered as the inheritance of a human creature. The minister and patriot parted on terms of mutual civility, but without having made the least impression upon each other's opinions. Swift, on the following morning, wrote the substance of their conference in a letter to Lord Peterborough, requesting his lordship to put it into the hands of Sir Robert Walpole. It need scarce be remarked, that the most brazen effrontery would not have ventured in such a letter, to be so communicated, to conceal or misrepresent what had passed between them; and that the account so given, and never contradicted, must contain the genuine record of this remarkable conversation.

An unworthy use was made of this interview, and of Swift's having accepted the previous invitation of Walpole, as if he had meant to barter his principles, and offer the minister the support of his pen, on condition of his being preferred in England. This charge requires a short investigation; for it was countenanced, to a certain extent, by Walpole, and zealously promulgated by his partizans. Had such an offer been made, it

must have been more than folly in Walpole to refuse the assistance of Swift, while he was expending very large sums to reward the political treatises of Arnal and Henley; so that, considering the well-known sagacity of the minister, as well as his unscrupulous mode of charming opposition to silence, by the ready mode of corrupt influence, we may conclude, that the offer not being accepted proves that it never was made. It is certain, indeed, that Swift would willingly have received from Walpole an opportunity of exchanging, and even at considerable disadvantage, his Irish deanery for some English living, which might have provided for his usual expenditure, and placed him for life in England. But this was uniformly opposed by the prime-minister, not because he disdained to purchase the support of Swift's pen, but because he had little hopes of laying him under such a weight of obligation, as might have prevented the risk of its being employed to his prejudice. Swift had declared, he was neither offered, nor would have received preferment, excepting on such conditions as would never be given to him. This is perfectly consistent with his desire to exchange the Deanery of St Patrick's for an English living; a transaction which might have been arranged on terms of such advantage to his successor as should lay Swift under no obligation, and leave his political conduct

free and unfettered. If he would not accept of a bishopric but on his own terms, he could be hardly disposed to barter his independence, merely to be translated to a worse living in England, than he already possessed in the sister country. And admitting that Walpole retained no memory of former quarrels, he may have believed it by no means his interest to bring Swift to England, unless upon such terms as would have made him entirely his own. Bolingbroke and Pulteney gave him enough of disturbance, without their forces being augmented by the keenest satirical writer of the age, whose friendships and principles were likely to engage him against the ministers of George I. Walpole, however, might have acted more wisely, by at once, and generously doing what must have gratified Swift, and trusting to his sense of justice and honour. It is certain, that Pulteney's civilities had as yet failed to engage the Dean in the politics of England; and in Swift's reply to the advice which Pope delicately insinuates, deprecating his involving himself in party disputes, and exhorting him to write only for truth, honour, and posterity, he seems to acquiesce in its propriety. But ancient friendship for Bolingbroke, and new causes of resentment against Walpole, combined to effect a change of his resolution.

Notwithstanding the coldness of the premier, Swift might hope to accomplish the

desired change of residence by means of patronage more illustrious, though, in reality, less efficient than that of Walpole. The Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. and his consort, the princess, now kept a sort of court at Leicester House, and were endeavouring to form an interest separate from that of the king and his minister. For this purpose they courted such Whigs as were discontented with the court, and bestowed countenance, and indulgence even, upon the dejected Tories. The princess had also a taste for literature, which she indulged by summoning around her men of genius and learning, whose society the prince endured at least, though he was far from enjoying it. Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot, were frequent and assiduous attendants on this little court. Their immediate protectress, however, was not the princess, but rather the celebrated Mrs Howard; who filled the twofold situation of confidante of Caroline and mistress to the prince. It would seem that, possessed of this double claim to favour, her interest could only be limited by the power of her friend and of her lover. But this was far from being the case. The princess, indulgent to her husband's gallantries, was jealous, to a great degree, of any one possessing political influence over him; and managed to retain her power so absolutely, that all who attempted to attain preferment through

the favour of Mrs Howard were certain to be thwarted in their hopes. Pope's religion was a bar to his forming any hopes by attendance on the prince's court; nor does Arbuthnot appear to have had any views of preferment. But both were anxious to promote the interest of Gay; and, unfortunately, instead of trusting to the influence of the princess, who had expressed her resolution to patronize him, they took the contraband course, by applying all their court and flattery to Mrs Howard. At this juncture, Dean Swift arrived in England; and as the princess was easily rendered curious to see so remarkable a person, she laid her commands upon him to attend her, which were nine times repeated before he complied with them. When presented to her, he said, (in allusion to the savage lately caught in Hanover), "he understood her royal highness loved oddities; and that, having lately seen a wild boy from Germany, she was now desirous to see a wild dean from Ireland." The freedom of the address was well received; and the Dean was honoured with so much of the princess's notice, as might well have authorized more ambitious prospects, upon the prince's succession to the crown, than Swift ever appears to have entertained. His visits at Leicester House were regular, and always well received. His residence with Pope, at Twickenham, was also

favourable to his paying his court when the princess resided at Richmond Hill, in the vicinity. The rest of his time was given to Lord Bolingbroke, at Dawley; a circumstance which, of itself, must have excited in Walpole dislike and suspicion.

Swift's visit to England was shortened, in the month of July, 1726, by the accounts of Mrs Johnson's rapid decline. His letters on this melancholy subject are a true picture of an agonized heart. Yet even the approaching calamity did not prevent his clinging to his peculiar system; and, in a letter to Dr Stopford, he labours to impress on his correspondent, that the agony which he felt at parting with Stella was that of friendship, not of love. He mentions her as «*one of the two oldest and dearest friends*» he had in the world, and only distinguishes her from her gossipping and common-place companion, Mrs Dingley, as «*the younger of the two;*» and concludes by conjuring Stopford to believe «*that violent friendship is much more lasting, and as engaging as violent love.*» His letter to Sheridan contains more deep and unrestrained expressions of anguish: «*The account you give me is nothing but what I have for some time expected with the utmost agonies. —I look upon this to be the greatest event that can ever happen to me; but all my preparations will not suffice to make me bear it like a*

philosopher, nor altogether like a Christian. Judge in what a temper of mind I write this. The very time I am writing, I conclude the fairest soul in the world hath left its body. I have been long weary of the world, and shall, for my small remainder of days, be weary of life, having for ever lost that conversation which could only make it tolerable.”¹ He betrays the utmost horror at the idea of being in Ireland, when this beloved friend should breathe her last, and conscious, perhaps, of the incipient disorder of his mind, conjures his correspondents to apprize him of the state of her malady, did it seem to infer immediate danger of dissolution, that he might be saved the risk of such a trial.

On his arrival in Ireland, Swift was received with all the honours which the Drapier had earned for the Dean. Bells were rung, bonfires kindled, and a body of the most respectable citizens escorted their patriot in a sort of triumphal procession from the shore to the Deanery. But he was yet more gratified by finding that Mrs Johnson was in part recovered, to ease at least, and immediate safety, though not to health or strength. The blow he so much dreaded was suspended, though not averted.

The celebrated Travels of Gulliver were

¹ Letter to Sheridan, 27th July, 1726.

now given to the world, but under the mystery which almost always shadowed Swift's publications. Swift left England in the month of August, and about the same time Motte the bookseller received the manuscript, dropped, he said, at his house in the dark, from a hackney coach.¹ It appeared in the November following, with several retrenchments and alterations, owing to the timidity of the printer, of which Swift complains heavily in his correspondence, and which he endeavours to correct by the letter from Gulliver to his cousin Sympson, prefixed to the subsequent editions. But the public discovered no tameness in this extraordinary satirical romance, which produced a universal sensation, being read from the highest to the lowest, and from the cabinet-council to the nursery. The world was frantic to discover the author, and even his friends, Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and others, wrote to Swift as if they were in doubt on the subject. But though they make use of expressions so strong, as to deceive some of his biographers into an opinion, that they were really in the uncertainty which they express, there is yet no doubt that all his literary brotherhood were more or less acquainted

¹ Charles Ford, formerly employed in the negotiation with Barber, about the "Free Thoughts," p. 211, vol. i., rendered this second piece of secret service to the Dean.

with the work before it was published.¹ Their reserve was either affected to humour Swift's wish of remaining concealed, or, perhaps, in case of the work giving offence, to avoid furnishing the evidence against the author, which might have arisen from an intercepted letter.

We have endeavoured elsewhere to make some remarks on those celebrated Travels. Perhaps no work ever exhibited such general attractions to all classes. It offered per-

¹ Swift so early as 29th September, 1725, mentions to Pope, his being employed in correcting and arranging for publication his Travels, in four parts. Arbuthnot mentions it in his letter of 17th October. It is scarce possible, that the scheme, thus announced, should not have been canvassed, and the manuscript revised, during the fraternal meetings at Twickenham and Dawley. In evidence that it was so, we find Lord Bolingbroke on 23d July, three months before the Travels appeared, addressing Swift, Pope, and Gay, as the three *Yahoos* of Twickenham, a jest which could not have been used by his Lordship, and would have been unintelligible to two of the triumvirate he addressed, if Gulliver's Travels had not been known to them all. Besides, Arbuthnot, immediately on the publication, writes to Swift as the author. "I will make over all my profits to you for the property of Gulliver's Travels, which I believe will have as great a run as John Bunyan." Pope alludes to it as what Swift called his "cousin's wonderful book" (Gulliver's Travels, it will be remembered, were sent forth by his cousin Simpson), and mentions, though in guarded terms, his having gone to London expressly to see how the work was received.

sonal and political satire to the readers in high life, low and coarse incident to the vulgar, marvels to the romantic, wit to the young and lively, lessons of morality and policy to the grave, and maxims of deep and bitter misanthropy to neglected age and disappointed ambition. The plan of the satire varies in the different parts. The Voyage to Lilliput refers chiefly to the court and politics of England, and Sir Robert Walpole is plainly intimated under the character of the Premier Flimnap,¹ which he afterwards probably remembered to the prejudice of the Dean's view of leaving Ireland. The factions of High-Heels and Low-Heels, express the factions of Tories and Whigs, the Small-Endians and Big-Endians the religious divisions of Papist

¹ The Lilliputian treasurer's fall from the tight rope, which was broken by one of the king's cushions, seems to intimate Walpole's resignation in 1717, when he was supposed to be saved from utter disgrace, by the interest of the Duchess of Kendal. The ridicule thrown upon the orders of knighthood by the Lilliputian nobles leaping over a stick, for the decorations of the blue, red, and green threads, is principally aimed at Walpole, who, to enlarge this class of honours and rewards, revived the order of the Bath, as a preliminary step to that of the Garter. Upon that occasion, the Dean wrote some lines now published for the first time, which conclude with the very idea more fully brought out in the travels to Lilliput;

And he who'll leap over a stick for the king,
Is qualified best for a dog in a string.

and Protestant; and when the heir-apparent was described as wearing one heel high and one low, the Prince of Wales, who at that time divided his favour between the two leading political parties of England, laughed very heartily at the comparison. Blefescu is France, and the ingratitude of the Lilliputian court, which forces Gulliver to take shelter there, rather than have his eyes put out, is an indirect reproach upon that of England, and a vindication of the flight of Ormond and Bolingbroke to Paris.¹ Many other allusions may be traced by those well acquainted with the secret history of the reign of George I. The scandal which Gulliver gave to the empress, by his mode of extinguishing the flames in the royal palace, seems to intimate the author's own disgrace with Queen Anne, founded upon the indecorum of the Tale of a Tub, which was remembered against him as a crime, while the service which it had rendered the cause of the high church was forgotten.² It must also be remarked, that the original institutions of the empire of Lilliput are highly commended, as also their system of public education, while it is intimated, that

¹ In corroboration, it may be observed, that Gulliver's crime, as well as that imputed to Bolingbroke, was having made a peace, when it was possible entirely to have crushed a vanquished enemy.

² Page 86, vol. i.

all the corruptions of the court had been introduced during the three last reigns. This was Swift's opinion concerning the English constitution.

In the Voyage to Brobdingnag the satire is of a more general character; nor is it easy to trace any particular reference to the political events or statesmen of the period. It merely exhibits human actions and sentiments as they might appear in the apprehension of beings of immense strength, and, at the same time, of a cold, reflecting, and philosophical character. The monarch of these sons of Anak is designed to embody Swift's ideas of a patriot king, indifferent to what was curious, and cold to what was beautiful, feeling only interest in that which was connected with general utility and the public weal. To such a prince, the intrigues, scandals, and stratagems, of an European court, are represented as equally odious in their origin, and contemptible in their progress. A very happy effect was also produced by turning the telescope, and painting Gulliver, who had formerly been a giant among the Lilliputians, as a pigmy amidst this tremendous race. The same ideas are often to be traced, but, as they are reversed in the part which is performed by the narrator, they are rather illustrated than repeated. Some passages of the court of Brobdingnag were sup-

posed to be intended as an affront upon the maids of honour, for whom, Delany informs us, that Swift had very little respect.

The Voyage to Laputa was disliked by Arbuthnot, who was a man of science, and probably considered it as a ridicule upon the Royal Society; nor can it be denied, that there are some allusions to the most respectable philosophers of the period. An occasional shaft is even said to have been levelled at Sir Isaac Newton. The ardent patriot had not forgot the philosopher's opinion in favour of Wood's halfpence. Under the parable of the tailor, who computed Gulliver's altitude by a quadrant, and took his measure by a mathematical diagram, yet brought him his clothes very ill made and out of shape, by the mistake of a figure in the calculation, Swift is supposed to have alluded to an error of Sir Isaac's printer, who, by carelessly adding a cipher to the astronomer's computation of the distance between the sun and the earth, had increased it to an incalculable amount. Newton published, in the Amsterdam Gazette, a correction of this typographical error, but

“ I well remember his making strange reports of the phraseologies of persons about the court, and particularly the maids of honour, at the time of that visit ” [to England.—] Delany's Remarks, p. 75. The letters of the beautiful and lively Miss Bellenden, lately published in the “ Suffolk Papers,” certainly vindicate the Dean's censure.

the circumstance did not escape the malicious acumen of the Dean of St Patrick's. It was also believed by the Dean's friends, that the office of flapper was suggested by the habitual absence of mind of the great philosopher. The Dean told Mr D. Swift, that Sir Isaac was the worst companion in the world, and that, if you asked him a question, "he would revolve it in a circle in his brain, round, and round, and round (here Swift described a circle on his own forehead), before he could produce an answer."¹

But, although Swift may have treated with irreverence the first philosopher of the age, and although it must be owned that he evinces, in many parts of his writings, an undue disrespect for mathematics,² yet the satire in

¹ The Dean used also to tell of Sir Isaac, that his servant having called him one day to dinner, and returning, after waiting some time, to call him a second time, found him mounted on a ladder placed against the shelves of his library, a book in his left hand, and his head reclined upon his right, sunk in such a fit of abstraction, that he was obliged, after calling him once or twice, actually to jog him, before he could awake his attention. This was precisely the office of the flapper.

² Though Swift disliked mathematics, it was not for want of capacity for that science. He one day affirmed to Sheridan, that it was an easy study; and, in consequence of a dispute with his friend upon that subject, Sheridan gave him a problem to solve. He desired Sheridan to leave the room; and in about half an hour the Dean called out to him, *εὐρηκα, εὐρηκα*. Sheridan as-

Gulliver is rather aimed against the abuse of philosophical science than at its reality. The projectors in the academy of Laputa are described as pretenders, who had acquired a very slight tincture of real mathematical knowledge, and eked out their plans of mechanical improvement by dint of whim and fancy. The age in which Swift lived had exhibited numerous instances of persons of this description, by whom many of the numerous *bubbles*, as they were emphatically termed, had been set on foot, to the impoverishment of credulous individuals, and the general detriment of the community. In ridiculing this class of projectors, whose character was divided between self-confidence in their own chimeras, and a wish to impose upon others, Swift, who peculiarly hated them,¹ has borrowed several illustrations, and perhaps the general idea, from Rabelais, book v, cap. xxiii. where Pantagruel inspects the occupations of the courtiers of Quinte-Essence, Queen of Entel-echie.

The professors of speculative learning are represented as engaged in prosecution of what

sured Mrs Whiteway that Swift had resolved the problem in the clearest manner, though he, who was himself a good mathematician, had chosen, on purpose, a very difficult one.

¹ Recollecting, perhaps, the ruin of his uncle Godwin. See p. 5 vol. i.

was then termed Natural and Mathematical Magic, studies not grounded upon sound principles, or traced out and ascertained by experiment, but hovering between science and mysticism. Such are the renowned pursuits of alchemy—the composition of brazen images that could speak; of wooden birds that could fly; of powders of sympathy, and salves, which were applied, not to the wound, but to the weapon by which it was inflicted; of vials of essence, which could manure acres of land, and similar marvels, of which impostors propagated the fame, and which dupes believed to their cost. The machine of the worthy professor of Lagado, for improving speculative knowledge, and composing books on all subjects, without the least assistance from genius or knowledge, seems to be designed in ridicule of the art invented by Raimond Lully, and advanced by his sage commentators; the mechanical process, namely, by which, according to Cornelius Agrippa (himself no mean follower of Lully), “everye man might plentifullye dispute of what matter he wolde, and with a certain artificial and huge heap of nownes and verbes invente and dispute with ostentation, full of trifling deceites upon both sides.”¹ A reader might have supposed

¹ Cornelius Agrippa of the Vanity of Sciences. Englished by Ja. San. Gent. London 1575.

himself transported to the grand academy of Lagado when he read of this « Brief and great art of invention and demonstration, » which consisted in adjusting the subject to be treated of according to a machine composed of divers circles, fixed and moveable. The principal circle was fixed, and inscribed with the substances of all things that may be treated of, arranged under general heads, as GOD, ANGEL, EARTH, HEAVEN, MAN, ANIMAL, etc. Another circle was placed within it, which is moveable, bearing inscribed thereon what logicians call the accidents, as QUANTITY, QUALITY, RELATION, etc. Other circles again contained the predicates absolute and relative, etc., and the forms of the questions; and, by turning the circles, so as to bring the various attributes to bear upon the question proposed, there was effected a species of mechanical logic, which, it cannot be doubted, was in Swift's mind when he described the celebrated machine for making books. Various refinements upon this mechanical mode of composition and ratiocination were contrived for the purpose of improving this Art of Arts, as it was termed. Kircher, the teacher of an hundred arts, modernized and refitted the machine of Lully. Knittel, the Jesuit, composed, on the same system, his Royal Road to all sciences and arts; Brunus invented the art of logic on the same mechanical plan; and Kuhlman makes

our very hair bristle, by announcing such a machine as should contain, not only the art of knowledge, comprehending a general system of all sciences, but the various arts of acquiring languages, of commentary, of criticism, of history, sacred and profane, of biography of every kind, not to mention a library of libraries, comprehending the essence of all the books that ever were written. When it was gravely announced by a learned author, in tolerable Latinity, that all this knowledge was to be acquired by the art of a mechanical instrument, much resembling a child's whirlingig, it was time for the satirist to assume the pen. It was not real science, therefore, which Swift attacked, but those chimerical and spurious studies with which the name has been sometimes disgraced. In the department of the political projectors, we have some glances of his Tory feelings; and when we read the melancholy account of the Struldbrugs, we are affectingly reminded of the author's contempt of life,¹ and the miserable state in which his own was at length prolonged.

¹ For many years he used to bid his friends adieu with these melancholy words : " God bless you, I hope we shall never meet again." Upon one occasion, when he and another clergyman had just removed from beneath a large and heavy mirror, the cords which supported it suddenly gave way, and it fell with great violence. The clergyman burst forth into an exclamation of thankfulness for

The Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms is a composition an editor of Swift must ever consider with pain. The source of such a diatribe against human nature could only be that fierce indignation which he has described in his epitaph as so long gnawing his heart. Dwelling in a land where he considered the human race as divided between petty tyrants and oppressed slaves, and being himself a worshipper of that freedom and independence which he beheld daily trampled upon, the unrestrained violence of his feelings drove him to loathe the very species by whom such iniquity was done and suffered. To this must be added, his personal health, broken and worn down by the recurring attacks of a frightful disorder; his social comfort destroyed by the death of one beloved object, and the daily decay and peril of another; his life decayed into autumn, and its remainder, after so many flattering and ambitious prospects, condemned to a country which he disliked, and banished from that in which he had formed his hopes, and left his friendships:—when all these considerations are combined, they form some excuse for that general misanthropy which never prevented a single deed of individual benevolence. Such apologies are personal to the author, but there their narrow escape. “Had I been alone,” said Swift, “I could have wished I had not removed.”

are also excuses for the work itself. The picture of the Yahoos, utterly odious and hateful as it is, presents to the reader a moral use. It was never designed as a representation of mankind in the state to which religion, and even the lights of nature, encourage men to aspire, but of that to which our species is degraded by the wilful subservience of mental qualities to animal instincts, of man, such as he may be found in the degraded ranks of every society, when brutalized by ignorance and gross vice. In this view, the more coarse and disgusting the picture, the more impressive is the moral to be derived from it, since, in proportion as an individual indulges in sensuality, cruelty, or avarice, he approaches in resemblance to the detested Yahoo.

It cannot, however, be denied, that even a moral purpose will not justify the nakedness with which Swift has sketched this horrible outline of mankind degraded to a bestial state; since a moralist ought to hold, with the Romans, that crimes of atrocity should be exposed when punished, but those of flagitious impurity concealed. In point of probability, too, for there are degrees of probability proper even to the wildest fiction, the fourth part of Gulliver is inferior to the three others. Giants and pigmies the reader can conceive; for, not to mention their being the ordinary machinery of romance, we are accustomed to see, in the

inferior orders of creation, a disproportion of size between those of the same generic description, which may parallel (among some reptile tribes at least) even the fiction of Gulliver. But the mind rejects, as utterly impossible, the supposition of a nation of horses placed in houses which they could not build, fed with corn which they could neither sow, reap, nor save, possessing cows which they could not milk, depositing that milk in vessels which they could not make, and, in short, performing a hundred purposes of rational and social life, for which their external structure altogether unfits them.¹

But under every objection, whether founded in reason or prejudice, the Travels of Gulliver were received with the most universal interest, merited indeed by their novelty, as well as their internal merit. Lucian, Rabelais, More, Bergerac, Alletz, and many other authors, had indeed composed works, in which may be traced such general resemblance as arises from the imaginary voyage of a supposed traveller to ideal realms. But every Utopia which had hitherto been devised, was upon a plan either extravagant from its puerile fictions, or dull from the speculative legislation of which the story was made the vehicle.²

¹ See Delany's Remarks, p. 167.

² Boyle too, from a passage in his Occasional Reflections on Several Subjects, appears to have meditated a

It was reserved for Swift to enliven the morality of his work with humour; to relieve its absurdity with satire; and to give the most improbable events an appearance of reality, derived from the character and style of the narrator. Even Robinson Crusoe (though detailing events so much more probable) hardly excels Gulliver in gravity and verisimilitude of narrative. The character of the imaginary traveller is exactly that of Dampier, or any other sturdy nautical wanderer of the period, endowed with courage and common sense, who sailed through distant seas, without losing a single English prejudice which he had brought from Portsmouth or Plymouth, and on his return gave a grave and simple narrative of what he had seen or heard in foreign countries. The character is strictly English, and can be hardly relished by a foreigner.¹ The reflections and observations of Gulliver are never more refined or deeper than might be expected from a plain master of a merchant-

« romantic story of an Utopia in the Southern ocean, a native whereof should travel to Europe, and on his return give an account of European customs and manners.» But this would have rather resembled the *Lettres Persannes* of Montesquieu, than the *Travels of Gulliver*.

¹ The French translator accordingly thought it necessary to enliven so dull a narrative, by some of the flip-pant brilliancy of a French writer of memoirs. The French received the work at first but indifferently; but it became very popular when its humour was better understood. So the Abbé Boileau informed Spence.

man, or surgeon in the Old Jewry; and there was such a reality given to his whole person, that one seaman is said to have sworn he knew Captain Gulliver very well, but he lived at Wapping, not at Rotherhithe. It is the contrast between the natural ease and simplicity of such a style and the marvels which the volume contains, that forms one great charm of this memorable satire on the imperfections, follies, and vices of mankind. The exact calculations preserved in the first and second part have also the effect of qualifying the extravagance of the fable. It is said that in natural objects, where proportion is exactly preserved, the marvellous, whether the object be gigantic or diminutive, is lessened in the eyes of the spectator, and it is certain, in general, that proportion forms an essential attribute of truth, and consequently of verisimilitude, or that which renders a narration probable. If the reader is disposed to grant the traveller his postulates as to the existence of the strange people whom he visits, it would be difficult to detect any inconsistency in his narrative. On the contrary, it would seem that Gulliver and they conduct themselves towards each other precisely as must necessarily have happened in the respective circumstances which the author has supposed. In this point of view, perhaps, the highest praise that could have been bestowed on Gulliver's Travels was

the censure of a learned Irish prelate, who said the book contained *some* things which he could not prevail upon himself to believe. It is a remarkable point of the author's art that, in Lilliput and Brobdingnag, Gulliver seems gradually, from the influence of the images by which he was surrounded, to lose his own ideas of comparative size, and to adopt those of the pigmies and giants by whom he was surrounded. And, without farther prolonging these reflections, I would only request the reader to notice the infinite art with which human actions are divided between these two opposite races of ideal beings, so as to enhance the keenness of the satire. In Lilliput political intrigue and *tracasserie*, the chief employment of the highest ranks in Europe, are ridiculed by being transferred to a court of creatures about six inches high. But in Brobdingnag, female levities, and the lighter follies of a court, are rendered monstrous and disgusting, by being attributed to a race of such tremendous stature. By these, and a thousand masterly touches of which we feel the effect, though we cannot trace the cause without a long analysis, the genius of Swift converted the sketch of an extravagant fairy tale into a narrative, unequalled for the skill with which it is sustained, and the genuine spirit of satire of which it is made the vehicle.¹

¹ At a late period of Swift's life, he undertook a revision

The renown of Gulliver's travels soon extended into other kingdoms. Voltaire, who was at this time in England, spread their fame among his correspondents in France, and recommended a translation. The Abbé Desfontaines undertook the task, but with so many doubts, apprehensions, and apologies, as make his introduction a curious picture of the mind and opinions of a French man of letters. He admits, that he was conscious of offending against rules; and, while he modestly craves some mercy for the prodigious fictions which he had undertaken to clothe in the French language, he confesses, that there were passages at which his pen escaped his hand, from actual horror and astonishment at the daring violations of all critical decorum: then he becomes alarmed, lest some of Swift's political satire might be applied to the Court of Versailles, and protests, with much circumlocution, that it only concerns the *Toriz* and *Wigts*, as he is pleased to term them, of the factious kingdom of Britain. Lastly, he assures his readers, that not only has he changed

of Gulliver's Travels, and made some bitter additions wherever the law or its professors are mentioned. The volume bearing these corrections, passed from the possession of Mr Theophilus Swift into that of the Bishop of Ossory; but it is said that all or most of the alterations have been transferred to the later editions, so that it is now matter of curiosity alone.

many of the incidents, to accommodate them to the French taste, but, moreover, they will not be annoyed, in his translation, with the nautical details, and minute particulars, so offensive in the original. Notwithstanding all this affectation of superior taste and refinement, the French translation is very tolerable. It is true, the Abbé Desfontaines indemnified himself and the French public, by writing a continuation of the Travels, in a style, as may easily be conceived, very different from that of the original.¹ Another continuation (a pre-

¹ Desfontaines' continuation is entitled "Le Nouveau Gulliver," being the Travels of John, the celebrated Captain Lemuel Gulliver. They have no more relation to the original than the *Telemaque* of Fenelon has to the *Odyssey*. He has avoided the bold and irregular fictions, the hardy and satirical morality, the natural and minute narrative of Swift. Jean Gulliver is merely an uninteresting *voyageur imaginaire*, who travels into one country, where the females were the ruling sex; into another, where the life of the inhabitants was ephemeral; into a third, where ugliness was the subject of desire and admiration. Though sinking far below the originality and spirit of his model, Desfontaines' work displays some fancy and talent. The author long conducted the *Journal des Sçavans*, and was engaged in some controversies with Voltaire, which did little honour to either party. The Abbé Desfontaines died in 1745. There is a letter from him to Swift on the subject of his translation, with Swift's reply. He apologises for the retrenchments and alterations which he found necessary to adapt Gulliver to the taste of the French nation. The Dean scarcely ad-

tended third volume) was published in England, the most impudent combination of piracy and forgery that ever occurred in the literary world; for while the book was affirmed to be written by the author of the genuine Gulliver, it was not even the work of his imitator, being almost entirely stolen from an obscure French work, called « L'Histoire des Severambes. »¹ Besides these continuations, a work thus completely successful failed not to be attended by imitations, parodies, keys, verses commendatory and defamatory, and the whole accompaniments of a popular triumph,² not forgetting a slave in the chariot,

mits the apology in his answer. The translation succeeded extremely well with the French public.

¹ The THIRD VOLUME of Gulliver's Travels was published by this unblushing forger so early as 1727, without a printer's name. It is executed in the same form with the genuine work, but is a mere bookseller's catch-penny. The author sends Gulliver on a second voyage to Brobdingnag, but, soon tiring of the task of original composition, however little genius was expended in it, he fills the remainder of the volume with the unacknowledged plunder of a French *Voyage Imaginaire*, entitled, *Histoire des Severambes*, which, in the Work entitled *Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, is ascribed to Monsieur Alletz. The work was suppressed in France, and other Catholic kingdoms, on account of the deistical opinions which it expressed, and, being therefore of rare occurrence, offered facilities for the bare-faced plagiarism and forgery of the author of the third volume of Gulliver.

² Dr Arbuthnot wrote two pamphlets on the subject, one entitled « Gulliver Decyphered, or Remarks upon a

whose abuse and ribaldry might remind the exulting author he was still a man.

The publication of the Travels, as giving late book of Travels into several remote nations of the world, vindicating the Reverend Dean, on whom it is maliciously fathered, with some probable conjectures concerning the real author." The piece, which has not much of Arbuthnot's humour, is published in his works, London, 1770, Vol. I. He also published "Critical Remarks on Captain Gulliver's Travels, by Doctor Bentley." In this piece of raillery, the author labours to shew, that the land of the Houyhnhnms was known to the ancients, and quotes, among other proofs of his assertion, the following imitation from Chaucer:—

Certes qd John, I not denye,
That touchende of the Stedes countrye ;
I rede as thylke old cronyke seythe,
Ylong afore our chrysten feyth,
Ther ben, as ye shall understande,
And yle ycleped Coursers Lond,
Wher nis ne dampnyng covetyse ;
Ne lechere hot in saintes gise ;
Ne sely squire lycke browdred ape,
Who maken Goddes boke a jape ;
Ne lemman vyle mishandlinge youthe ;
Ne women, bruckle ware in sothe ;
Ne flattrer ; ne unlettred clerke,
Who richen him withouten werke ;
For vyce in thought, ne als in dede,
Was never known in Londe of Stede.

Three poems in the Miscellany, the Lamentation of Glumdalclitch, Mary Gulliver's epistle to her husband, and a Lilliputian Ode, were also occasioned by the celebrated Travels. They have been ascribed to Gay, but were certainly written by Pope. See his letter, 8th March 1726-7.

fresh and additional notoriety to the author, served to increase his favour at Leicester House. Many pieces of mutual politeness were exchanged, and much raillery on the subject of Gulliver, the Yahoos, and the Lilliputian. At leaving England, Swift had requested from the princess and Mrs Howard a trifling present, taxing the former at ten pounds, and the latter at one guinea, as a memorial of the distinction which they seemed to place between him and an ordinary clergyman. The princess promised a present of medals, which was never fulfilled. Mrs Howard, more true of promise, sent Swift a ring and a letter, which he answered by a letter in the character of Gulliver, accompanied with a golden trinket in the shape of a crown, to represent the diadem of Lilliput.¹ The princess condescended to accept from the Dean a piece of Irish silk for her own wearing, a point of obligation to which his correspondence recurs rather too frequently after their breach. Every thing seemed to intimate that, in case of the prince's succession to the crown, Gulliver (to use the words of Peterborow) had but to chalk his pumps, and learn to dance on the tight rope, and he might yet be a bishop.

While the Travels were printing in silence and mystery, Pope was busied with the pro-

¹ This toy is still preserved by Mrs Howard's representatives.

jected Miscellanies. Nothing could exceed the generous and good-humoured frankness with which Swift abandoned his verses to his friend's criticism, entreating him to correct, to burn, and to blot, without favour. He shewed himself as tractable in his years of full-blown fame, as when, in his younger years, at the instance of Addison, he erased forty verses, added forty verses, and altered a like number, in the short poem of Baucis and Philemon. In the middle of March, the Miscellany was published, with the cipher of the two friends combined on the title-page, and Pope rejoiced in the joint volumes in which they were to walk hand in hand down to posterity. He had also reason to congratulate himself in point of emolument, for the sale was so rapid, that the two first volumes were speedily followed by a third, and the profit, of which the Dean resigned the whole to him, was considerable.¹ A yet more important donation was the copy-right of *Gulliver*, which Pope sold for the sum of three hundred pounds. The publication of the Miscellany had some less pleasing consequences. The treatise upon the Bathos, and the examples compiled from living poets, drew upon the allied authors a hail-storm of petty lampoons and libels from the aggrieved parties, under which Pope writhed, though Swift despised and overlooked them.

¹ Amounting at least to one hundred and fifty pounds.

Stella had now apparently recovered a tolerable state of health, and, in the month of March, 1727, Swift visited England for the last time. His reception at Leicester House was as cordial as ever, but there were no traces of that apparent spirit of accommodation with which Walpole had formerly received him. The minister had, during the Dean's absence, gone so far as to express to Pope his desire of having seen Swift again before he left England, and his having observed a willingness in him to live there. Upon this overture he probably expected something to have been proposed or asked by the Dean. The hint, however, was not taken : and Walpole's communication on the subject with Pope plainly shews the absurdity of the allegation, that Swift had offered his services, and that these services had been rejected. On the contrary, it is evident that the Dean, however desirous of being removed to England, was so far from stooping to solicit it as a favour, that he did not even seek another interview with Walpole, though it was indirectly offered, for the sake of stating his wishes more plainly. Walpole, offended by his indifference, little gratified, probably, by the hints in the *Travels to Lilliput*, now broke off all communication.¹

¹ The story has been retailed with more or less credible circumstances according to the faith of the narrator. Lord Chesterfield, probably with a view of mystifying

Perhaps, also, he considered Swift as privately caballing with Pulteney and Bolingbroke, per-

his credulous audience, pretended that Chartres (whom Swift regarded with the utmost abhorrence) acted as master of the ceremonies when the Dean of St Patrick's offered to barter his political faith for church preferment. To the utter improbability of this tale in itself, it may be added, that we know, from Swift's correspondence, that he met with Walpole only twice,—once by invitation to dinner, and once at an audience upon the public business of Ireland, when he was introduced by Lord Peterborow. A more modest edition of the legend bears, that Swift only indicated his wishes to the minister by pointing to a tree which was bearing down the wall against which it leaned, and observed, that he, like that tree, needed support; an attack which Walpole parried, by answering, "Then why, Doctor, did you attach yourself to a falling wall?" A third statement transfers the simile of the tree, with some variation, to Walpole. Swift is said bluntly to have asked Sir Robert to remove him, for God's sake, from that wretched country of Ireland, and the minister replied by pointing to a fruit-tree, which, he said, was ruined by being transplanted from a hungry soil to a richer one. Both these last stories would imply a wish, on the part of Walpole, to refuse Swift's request with irony and sarcasm, which is altogether inconsistent with the opening which he held out to Pope. It must be added, that Mr Coxe, though abundantly severe upon Swift, in general, makes no mention of any such disgraceful transactions as are charged upon him by these stories. See the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. Among some miscellaneous jottings on a loose paper in Swift's hand-writing, found among Dr Lyons' papers, occurs the following: "Sir Robert Walpole defended the scheme of Wood to the Dean before he asked him his thoughts about it."

The ingenious editor of the Suffolk Papers has stated

haps having found the road to the prince's good graces, through the interest of the princess, he chose to keep no measures with the little band of literary friends who had attached themselves to Mrs Howard. Swift had previously intimated that, if he was not better treated by the minister this year than the last, he would take vengeance; and accordingly, within a few weeks after his arrival in England, we find him engaged in a paper to be sent to the Craftsman, the general channel for assault upon Walpole.¹ In this epistle, which was never finished, he touches upon "the grievous mistake, in a great minister, to neglect or despise, much more to irritate men of genius and learning," which was probably his own immediate cause of resentment. About this time, too, Swift is supposed to have sup-

a hypothesis which may have created a misunderstanding of Swift's purpose on the part of Walpole, which accounted for subsequent misrepresentation. Swift spoke to Sir Robert of the difficulty of obliterating any unfavourable impression made on the mind of a prince or great minister, even when the accusation that proved it has been totally disproved. Swift certainly was thinking of Gay: Walpole believed that he spoke in reference to himself; and thus gave the passage a turn which the Dean did not deserve, and represented Swift as having made apologies on his own account.

¹ "A letter to the Writer of the occasional Paper." In a letter from Bolingbroke to Swift, dated 18th May, 1727, he gives some hints for this epistle, which the author seems to have adopted.

plied Gay with the two celebrated songs, after ingrafted in the Beggar's Opera, beginning, "Through all the employments of life, " and, " Since laws were made for every degree. " Warton has assigned both to Pope, but the internal evidence is in favour of Mr Deane Swift and Mrs Whiteway, who uniformly declared they were written by the Dean. ¹

After a summer spent among the friends of his best days, Swift began to resume his intention of passing the winter in a milder climate, as it was supposed the air of the south of France might mitigate the distressing symptoms of his recurring disorder. The king's death, and the probable dismissal of Walpole from office, interrupted his purpose, and lighted up, for the last time, those hopes of comfort at least, if not of ambition, which depended on his being settled in England. A change of

¹ Swift never saw the Beggars' Opera in a complete state until it was printed ; but it does not follow that he contributed no songs. He is generally supposed to have given the hint of the subject, by suggesting to Gay to write a Newgate pastoral. While these three wits, indeed, held their meetings at Twickenham, it may be difficult to assign to each individual his share in a labour which they were all willing to further. Mrs Whiteway said the Dean also suggested the Trivia, which is rendered very probable, since his habits of walking, and his verses on the City-Shower shewed him to be master both of the subject and manner.

ministry was generally expected. Swift, accustomed to disappointment, was less sanguine than others, and hesitated whether he should suspend his journey to the continent. Bolingbroke urged him to remain, and expressed his belief, that the opportunity of quitting Ireland for England was fairly before him. He remained, accordingly, kissed the hands of their majesties on their accession, and was received by the queen with her usual marks of favour. But Sir Robert Walpole, through the interest of Queen Caroline, triumphed over all his rivals, and on the 24th June was reinstated in the employments and confidence which he enjoyed under the former monarch. Still, however, it was supposed, that the secret influence of Mrs Howard might serve her friends. Swift wrote to her, requesting her advice concerning his intention of going abroad, and conjuring her to answer him with sincerity. Mrs Howard replied, exhorting him not to leave England, as it would have an appearance of disaffection; and other friends seemed to have authority from her to hint, that his favourite object of an exchange into England might yet be practicable. Sir Robert Walpole's interest, and probably that of Queen Caroline, who in secret opposed all who sought favours at court through the mediation of Mrs Howard, rendered vain the ex-

pectations which were thus excited. Mrs Howard afterwards vindicated herself, by stating, that if success did not justify her advice, she had at least given the reasons on which it was founded, so that Swift, having opportunity of judging for himself of its solidity, was the dupe of his own judgment, not of her falsehood. But the Dean seems to have felt that his dignity had suffered in thus lingering around the court, waiting for a favour which his enemies had a malicious pleasure in withholding. His resentment rankled within him, and extended itself not only to Walpole and the queen, but to Mrs Howard, who seems in reality to have wanted the power, not the inclination to serve him.¹

During this anxious interval, Swift was afflicted with a severe paroxysm of his disorder,

¹ The Earl of Orford relates, in his *Reminiscences*, that, as a test of the degree of influence which Mrs Howard actually possessed, she was persuaded by Chesterfield to ask of the new monarch an earl's coronet for Lord Bathurst. She did so—the queen interposed her veto—and Swift returned to Ireland in despair, convinced that Mrs Howard had no efficient interest with the monarch. The editor of the *Suffolk papers* disproves this representation, by showing, that in the first creation of peers, Lady Howard's interest procured a coronet for her own brother, which renders it highly improbable that her influence was in the wane, or that she could then have made a point of Lord Bathurst's promotion. Besides, Swift returned to Ireland in September, 1727, and the creation did not take place until 28th May, 1728.

and about the same time received news from Ireland, that Stella was once more reduced to extremity. The agony with which these tidings affected him induced him suddenly to leave Twickenham, where he was then residing, and shut himself up in lodgings in London, miserably afflicted both in body and mind.¹ He wrote to Sheridan and Worrall in the bitterest sorrow, anticipating the dissolution of "that person for whose sake only life was worth preserving." Yet with stubborn adherence to his determination of concealing their union, he conjures Worrall so to arrange, that her decease might not take place at the deanery, which Mrs Johnson and Mrs Dingley always occupied in his absence. He had enemies, he said, who would interpret such an event injuriously to his character. When his health was a little restored, he departed for Ireland. He took by letter a civil leave of Mrs Howard, and transmitted his duty to the

¹ Dr Johnson has given this circumstance a malevolent turn : " He left the house of Pope, as it seems, with very little ceremony, finding that two sick friends cannot live together, and did not write to him till he found himself at Chester." Sinking, as he himself declares, under weakness, age, and wounded affection, Swift might have claimed some exemption from ceremony. But Pope saw Swift at his lodgings in London, as he himself writes to Sheridan, more than once at least ; and when the Dean left England, he took leave of Pope in a kind letter, not written from Chester, but left for him at Gay's lodgings, over which he to whom it was addressed, " wept like a girl."

queen. To Pope he wrote in the most affectionate terms. « If it pleases God, » he said, « to restore me to my health, I shall readily make a third journey; if not, we must part as all human creatures have parted.» Such, indeed, was the decree of Heaven, for these illustrious friends met no more. The Dean left the country so dearly beloved by him, for the last time, in the beginning of October, 1727.

When Swift arrived in Ireland, Stella was on the verge of the grave. For six months she had been only preserved by constant medical attendance and support. In this languishing state, she had a remarkable conversation with Swift upon the subject of declaring their marriage, which has been interpreted in a manner highly prejudicial to the character of the latter, as if he had been guilty of the most sullen cruelty towards the friend, whose decay cost him such daily agony, and for whose spiritual consolation he composed the most beautiful and affecting devotional exercises. I give it with every circumstance, as nearly as possible, in the words of Mr Theophilus Swift, to whom it was communicated by Mrs Whiteway. « When Stella was in her last weak state, and one day had come in a chair to the deanery, she was with difficulty brought into the parlour. The Dean had prepared some mulled wine, and kept it by the fire for her refreshment. After tasting

it, she became very faint, but, having recovered a little by degrees, when her breath (for she was asthmatic) was allowed her, she desired to lie down. She was carried up stairs, and laid on a bed; the Dean, sitting by her, held her hand, and addressed her in the most affectionate manner. She drooped, however, very much. Mrs Whiteway was the only third person present. After a short time, her politeness induced her to withdraw to the adjoining room, but it was necessary, on account of air, that the door should not be closed: it was half shut,—the rooms were close adjoining. Mrs Whiteway had too much honour to listen, but could not avoid observing that the Dean and Mrs Johnson conversed together in a low tone; the latter, indeed, was too weak to raise her voice. Mrs Whiteway paid no attention, having no idle curiosity, but at length she heard the Dean say, in an audible voice, ‘*Well, my dear, if you wish it, it shall be owned,*’ to which Stella answered with a sigh, ‘*It is too late.*’ » Such are, upon the best and most respectable authority, the minute particulars of this remarkable anecdote. The word *marriage* was not mentioned, but there can remain no doubt that such was the secret to be owned; and the report of Mrs Whiteway I received with pleasure, as vindicating the Dean from the charge of cold-blooded and hard-hearted

cruelty to the unfortunate Stella, when on the verge of existence.' On 28th January, 1727-8,

Mr Sheridan has related this anecdote in the following terms :

« A short time before her death, a scene passed between the Dean and her, an account of which I had from my father, and which I shall relate with reluctance, as it seems to bear more hard on Swift's humanity than any other part of his conduct in life. As she found her final dissolution approach, a few days before it happened, in the presence of Dr Sheridan, she addressed Swift in the most earnest and pathetic terms to grant her dying request ; ' That, as the ceremony of marriage had passed between them, though for sundry considerations they had not cohabited in that state, in order to put it out of the power of slander to be busy with her fame after death, she adjured him by their friendship to let her have the satisfaction of dying at least, though she had not lived, his acknowledged wife.'

« Swift made no reply, but, turning on his heel, walked silently out of the room, nor ever saw her afterwards during the few days she lived. This behaviour threw Mrs Johnson into unspeakable agonies, and for a time she sunk under the weight of so cruel a disappointment. But soon after, roused by indignation, she inveighed against his cruelty in the bitterest terms ; and, sending for a lawyer, made her will, bequeathing her fortune by her own name to charitable uses. This was done in the presence of Dr Sheridan, whom she appointed one of her executors.»

It cannot be denied that there is here an anecdote told upon apparently good authority. But Mr Theophilus Swift's authority seems still preferable. It was derived from Mrs Whiteway, after he attained the years of manhood, and Mr Sheridan was a boy at the time of his father's death ; and although neither father nor son were capable of voluntarily

about eight o'clock at night, Mrs Johnson closed her weary pilgrimage, and passed to that land where they neither marry nor are given in marriage.

Swift was now in a manner alone in the world, afflicted by many of those varied calamities, with which, to use his own words, the Author of our being weans us gradually from our fondness of life, the nearer we approach the end of it. Disease and decay of nature,—the death of many friends, and the estrangement or ingratitude of more,—a want of relish for earthly enjoyments, with a general dislike for persons and things, daily increasing upon him,—passions too readily irritable, and the

propagating a falsehood to the Dean's prejudice, yet it seems more likely that a boy might have mistaken what his father said to him on such a subject, than that Mr Swift should have understood a story told to him repeatedly and minutely by Mrs Whiteway, after he had come to man's estate. In fact, the hardness of heart imputed to Swift, by the earlier edition of the story, is not only totally inconsistent with an affection agonized by the view of its dying object, but with every circumstance. Vanessa was dead,—Stella was dying,—the Dean could no longer fear that the society or claims of a wife should be forced upon him,—the scene was closed, and every reason for mystery at an end. The relations may indeed be reconciled, by supposing that of Mrs Whiteway subsequent to the scene detailed by Sheridan. The Dean may at length have relented, yet Sheridan remained ignorant of it. Dr Johnson seems to have received the anecdote as given in the text.

keen sensation of remorse, after having extravagantly indulged them;—all these evils combined to darken his future prospect; and the gleams of cheerfulness and enjoyment which yet occasionally gilded his way, grew fewer and more languid, as his path tended downwards, until he reached the sad point, beyond which all was second childishness and mere oblivion. There remained to him, indeed, the applause of the public, and the society of many sincere and respectful friends, in the land of which he was now unwillingly an inhabitant for life. But the former could give no balm for domestic affliction, and most of the latter had been so much accustomed to submit to his humour, and endure practical and personal jests, that either he was nettled by their resentment when he pushed their patience beyond endurance, or, while humoured to the very extremity of caprice, became sensible, that excess of familiarity was followed by contempt, its usual consequence.¹ He was banished, in short, from

¹ The Dean was fond of pranks which bordered on childish sports. It will hardly be believed that he sometimes, by way of exercise, used to chase the Grattans, and other accommodating friends, through the large apartments of the deanery, and up and down stairs, driving them like horses, with his whip in his hand, till he had accomplished his usual quantity of exercise. I have heard there was an old gentleman, a Scot, or of Scot-

Pope, Bolingbroke, Arbuthnot, and his original compeers, with whom he measured mind against mind, learned to respect himself in respecting them, and felt no other superiority than might arise from a momentary advantage in argument.¹

tish extraction, settled in the north of Ireland, whom he used to teaze with some story of the dirt and poverty of his country till the old man, between jest and earnest, started up with his cane uplifted, when Swift, in great seeming terror, would run away to hide himself. His practical jokes he sometimes pushed beyond even the patience of the good-natured Sheridan, and then was angry at him for not enduring what no man ought to have wished a friend to brook. The Dean's answer, for instance, to Sheridan's rhymes on Ballyspellin, was so coarse and vulgar, (printed, too, and published,) that Sheridan considered it as an affront on himself, and the lady he had accompanied to that watering-place. Yet the Dean, in his character of the second Solomon, resents his very natural and just indignation, as an act of high treason against his authority, or, as he styles it, "against all the rules of reason, taste, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners."

¹ In these melancholy moments, he seems to have drawn up the following list of remarkable and illustrious persons, with whom he had lived in intimacy at various periods of his life. The original is among the papers preserved by Mr Smith :—

« Men famous for their learning, wit, or great employments or quality, of my acquaintance, who are dead.—

Sir William Temple,
Lord Somers,
Earl of Halifax,

Burnet, Bishop of Sarum,
Mr Wycherly,
Mr Nich. Rowe,

Ambition is often smothered when deprived of hope, but its restless ghost seldom fails to haunt those whom it has called vassals, and to excite them to animosity or vengeance, even after hope is no more. Swift, accordingly, after the death of Stella, seems first to have been roused by the sense of Walpole's enmity. It was greatly increased by the conduct of Queen Caroline and the minister towards Gay. The promise of her majesty's patronage could not decently be withdrawn from

Lord Willoughby of Brook,	Earl of Berkeley,
Dean of Windsor,	Anthony Henley,
Duke of Beaufort,	Earl of Oxford, lord-trea-
Mr Addison,	surer,
Dr Garth,	Lord Harcourt, lord-chan-
Sir John Vanbrug,	cellor,
Dr Smalridge, Bishop of Bris-	Dr John Freind,
tol,	Dr Ratcliffe,
Dr Gastril, Bishop of Ches-	Mr Congreve,
ter,	Mr Prior.
Dr Biss, Bishop of Hereford,	

« Men of distinction, and my friends, who are yet alive. February 19. 1728-9—

Earl of Peterborow,	Mr Gay,
Duke of Ormonde,	Earl of Orkney,
Earl of Marr,	Lord Carteret,
Lord Viscount Bolingbroke,	Earl of Dartmouth,
Lord Bathurst,	Lord Bingley, [dead]
Earl of Burlington,	William Bromley, Esq.
Lord Masham,	Earl of Pembroke
William Pulteney Esq.	Lord Herbert,
Mr Pope,	Sir Andrew Fountain.

the poet, but, as if to mark her altered opinion, and even contempt, he was named gentlemen-usher to the Princess Louisa, then an infant. Gay, with proper spirit, refused the appointment, and, in the Beggars' Opera, took a most ample satisfaction upon king, queen, and ministers. This marked affront to his friend opened Swift's eyes, if he yet hoped any thing, either from the queen's favour, or the influence of Mrs Howard.¹

In this humour he composed the celebrated Rhapsody (1733), in which the ironical praises which he bestowed on the monarch, queen, and royal family, were taken in such good part, that he assured Dr King he received a message of thanks. « The Rhapsody, » says the doctor, « might have continued to Swift the favour it had acquired him, if Lord Harvey had not undeceived Queen Caroline, and taken some pains to teach her the use and power of the irony. »² Although a friend to the Protestant succession, he had never regarded with much cordiality the family on which the crown was settled ; and when there was a report that George I. intended to publish, or sue out a divorce against his unfortunate consort, and declare a marriage with the Duchess of Kendal, whom he is said to have married with

¹ Yet Gay's causes of complaint are something over-rated by his friends.

² King's Anecdotes.

the left hand,—the Dean made the perplexity of the ministers the subject of the bitterest epigram which his own or any other pen ever traced.¹ The attentions of Caroline, when princess, had suspended a dislike, which now returned with double bitterness. One of his modes of mortifying the royal family was, to cause a monument to be erected in the Cathedral of St Patrick's, to the memory of the Duke of Schomberg, reflecting bitterly upon his descendants, who had declined being at this expense. The parties whom this inscription immediately affected, were the Earl of Holderness and Lord Fitzwalter ; but it also touched upon the envoy of the King of Prussia, who, having married a grand-daughter of Schomberg, made a formal complaint to George I. The king expressed himself much displeased, and said publicly in the drawing-room, « that the Dean of St Patrick's had put up that monument out of malice, to make a quarrel betwixt his Majesty and the King of Prussia.» Thus, an irreconcilable breach took place between Swift and the court, as well as the ministers. On Walpole, Swift made war both in verse and prose, nor did he spare even royalty itself, for the « Directions for making a

¹ It was found among Swift's papers, with this characteristic jotting on the back.—« A wicked treasonable libel. I wish I knew the author, that I might hang him.»

Birth-day Song" are most bitter upon the whole family, especially on Queen Caroline.

While thus venting his resentment against the court, Swift continued to apply himself with great vigour to the national interests of Ireland, although so much dreaded and disliked by the government, that even his friend Carteret declined to admit him to any situation which could give him an official right of interference.¹ But the patriotism of Swift was not to be damped by discouragement. In every varied form he endeavoured to make the people aware of their rights and interests,—

¹ He never could prevail upon Lord Carteret to nominate him one of the trustees of the linen manufactory, or even a justice of peace. His lordship always replied, "I am sure, Mr Dean, you despise those feathers, and would not accept of them." The Dean answered, "No, my lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the public in both capacities; but, as I would not be governed by your excellency, nor job at the board, or suffer abuses to pass there, or at a quarter-sessions' assizes, I know that you will not indulge me for the good of this unhappy nation: but, if I were a worthless member of parliament, or a bishop, would vote for the court, and betray my country, then you would readily grant my request." Lord Carteret replied, with equal freedom and politeness, "What you say is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me." The Dean, some time afterwards, in company with Dr Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel, Dr Synge, Bishop of Elphin, and other trustees of the board, asked why they would not elect him trustee. The archbishop answered, "That he was too sharp a razor, and would cut them all." To which the Dean made no reply. *Swiftiana*, Vol. II. p. 217.

the rulers of the impolicy, as well as cruelty, of their oppressive restrictions. The « View of the State of Ireland ; » the « Story of an Injured Lady ; » the « Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin concerning the Weavers ; » the « Answer to Sir John Brown's Memorial, » and many other Tracts, show his careful and unremitting attention to the rights and interests of Ireland, whether political, commercial, or agricultural.¹ But the inimitable piece of irony by which he proposes to relieve the distresses of the poor, by converting their children into food for the rich, has never been equalled in any age or country. The grave, formal, and business-like mode, in which the calculations are given ; the projector's protestation of absolute disinterest in the success of his plan ; the economy with which he proposes the middling class should use this new species of food ; and the magnificence which he attaches to the idea of a well-grown fat yearling child roasted whole, for a lord-mayor's feast ; the style of

¹ His most trifling bounties were qualified with a view to the interest of Ireland. Giving one day a guinea to the maid-servant of a friend, he charged her to buy a gown of Irish stuff with his bounty. Returning afterwards, and finding her in the same dress, he accused her of neglecting his orders. She went out, and returned with her apron filled with a set of the Dean's works. « This, » she said, « please your reverence, is the Irish stuff I have bought, and better was never manufactured. » Swift, as may be supposed, was highly gratified.

a projector, and the terms of the shambles, so coolly and yet carefully preserved from beginning to end, render it one of the most extraordinary pieces of humour in our language. A foreign author was so much imposed upon by the gravity of the style, that he quoted it as an instance of the extreme distress of Ireland, which appeared to equal that of Jerusalem in its last siege, since a dignitary of the church was reduced to propose, as the only mode of alleviating the general misery, the horrid resource of feeding upon the children of the poor.

This repeated interference of Swift seems greatly to have annoyed the faction by which Ireland was then ruled, nor was their displeasure always silent. The mayor and corporation having resolved to present the Dean with the freedom of the city in a golden box, Joshua, Lord Allen, although he had at one time courted the Dean's friendship, chose, in the council and House of Peers, to make a bitter invective against Swift, as a Tory, a Jacobite, and a libeller of the government; and publicly upbraided the mayor with wasting the money of the corporation in making presents to such a character. The Dean heard of this attack with the greater indignation, as, within a few hours after the invective had been pronounced, Lord Allen had sent a common friend to him with renewed protestations of

regard. The mediator, finding other apologies ill received, at length said, touching his forehead, « You know, sir, our poor friend is a little disordered here at times.»—« I know,» answered the Dean, with great gravity, « that he is a madman; and, if that were all, no man living could commiserate his condition more than myself: but, sir, he is a madman possessed by the devil. I renounce him.» Accordingly, he not only vindicated himself to the lord-mayor and corporation on occasion of receiving the freedom and gold box, in terms the most peremptory, but also published, in an advertisement, a contradiction of Lord Allen's charge, as « insolent, false, scandalous, malicious, and, in a particular degree, perfidious.» Upon the same occasion he composed and published the satire entitled *Traulus*, the first part of which is a dialogue turning upon the melancholy apology proposed for Allen by their common friend, Robert Leslie. And, on several other opportunities, the unfortunate peer was distinguished in the Dean's satirical productions.

In order to maintain this skirmishing warfare, the Dean and Sheridan, in 1728, commenced a periodical paper called the *Intelligencer*. But the circulation being small, and the price of each number only a halfpenny, the printer could not afford to pay any young man of talent as editor, so that it was soon

dropped. The Dean gives Pope an account of the papers which he wrote for the *Intelligencer*, in whole or in part, being nine in all.¹ Perhaps we ought to add some part at least of No. II., which the reader will find in the note, containing a singular account of an affront offered to Swift by Colonel Abel Ram, member of Parliament for the borough of Gorey (called Squire Wether in the *Intelligencer*), whose carriage intercepted Swift and Sheridan rudely, as they were travelling on horseback.² On this occasion, Swift, or more pro-

¹ Letter from Swift to Pope, dated 12th June 1731.

² "THE INTELLIGENCER. NO. II.

"Occursare Capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.

"My design, in writing this paper, being chiefly to expose such barbarians, who think themselves exempt from those laws of hospitality which have, through all ages and countries, been observed by the best and most distinguished part of mankind, I hope I shall, even in my own country, find persons enough to join with me in a hearty detestation of a certain country-squire, at the relation of the following fact, which I shall tell without the least aggravation or partiality.

"Two clergymen, of some distinction, travelling to the country for their health, happened to set up together in a small village,¹ which was under the dominion of a certain animal, dignified with a brace of titles, that of a militia-colonel and a squire. One of these gentlemen, standing in the street, and observing a coachman driving

¹ Gorey, or New Borough.

bably his companion, is said to have made this impromptu:—

Hear not, Britain, how Ireland's pride and glory
Was butted in a slough by the Ram of Gorey.

Amid these disputes, Carteret, with the

his coach and four horses furiously against him, turned into the close passage between his inn and the sign-post; but the coachman, instead of driving through the middle of the street, which was the usual and most commodious way, turned short, and drove full upon the gentleman, without any notice, so that he was on a sudden enclosed between the fore-horses; and if his friend and another gentleman, who were in the middle of the street, had not suddenly cried out to stop the coach, he must have unavoidably been trodden under the horses' feet, and his body bruised to death by the wheels running over him. His friend, who saw with terror what had like to have befallen him, full of indignation, repaired immediately to the aforesaid squire or colonel (to whom he was told the equipage belonged), with a complaint against his coachman. But the squire instead of expressing any concern, or offering any redress, sent the Doctor away with the following answer: Sir, I have a great regard for your cloth, and have sent my coachman to ask your friend's pardon, for one of your servants this moment told me what had happened.—But, sir, said the Doctor, do you think that is sufficient? I dare venture to affirm, if the like had befallen you within the liberties¹ of my friend, and you were brought to the same danger by his servant, he would not only have him punished, but, at the same time, he would discharge him his service.—Sir, (said the Colonel), I tell you again, that I have sent my coachman to ask his pardon, and I think that is enough,

¹ The Liberties of St Sepulchre's.

skill of a thorough-bred courtier, trimmed between the danger of offending the English mi— which he spoke with some sturdiness ; and well he might, for he had two cannons at his back.—Good God ! said the Doctor to himself, (when he had got out of gunshot), what a Hottentot have I been talking to ! who so little values the life of a gentleman, and, as it happened, that very gentleman to whom the nation hath in a particular manner been obliged. Back he went, full of resentment for the slighting treatment his friend met with, and very candidly reported all that passed ; who being a man of a different spirit from that wretched colonel, ordered one of his servants to write the following letter.

SIR,—My master commanded me to tell you, that if you do not punish and turn off that villain, your coachman, he will think there was a design upon his life. I put this in writing for fear of mistakes.

I am your humble servant to command,

A. R.

« The superscription was, ‘For Squire Wether, or some such name.’

« This letter was delivered, and away went the travellers. They had not rode far, before they fell into the company of a gentleman, a degree above the common level, and who seemed to be a man of candour and integrity, which encouraged them to recount what had happened. He said in answer, that they had a narrow escape ; and it was a wonder that the whole town did not fall upon them at once, and worry them : for the people there had little or no devotion besides what was engaged to the squire, as an effect of the terrors they lay under from their landlord, who rode them all down as poor as his fox-hunters. After this he took occasion, with great modesty, and decency, to draw his character, which was to the following purpose : That the squire had about

nistry, or rather of furnishing them with an apology for displacing him, and that of break-

fifteen hundred pounds a-year, and lived a in long white barn, where no man living was one farthing the better for him. That his piety consisted in six psalms every day after dinner without one drop of wine. That he had once reduced a certain reverend dean, plumper than any two of his brethren, to be as slender about the waist as a weasel, by a fortnight's scouring of bad ale, to which the dean was not accustomed. That his hospitality was within the enclosure of a rampart, with a drawbridge. That if any gentleman was admitted by chance, his entertainment was lean salt beaf, sour beer, and muddy ale. That his charity was as much upon the catch as a pick-pocket; for his method was to bring others to erect charity-schools, by promising his assistance, and so leaving them in the lurch.

* That, without the least tincture of learning, he was a great pretender to oratory and poetry, and eminently bad at both; which (I hope I shall be excused the digression) brings to my memory a character given by Julius Capitolinus of the Emperor Verus. '*Melior quidem orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta; imo (ut verius dicam) peior poeta quam rhetor:*' viz. He was a better orator than poet; but, to speak the thing more properly, he was a viler poet than an orator. But to give you a specimen of his genius, I shall repeat an epigram of his own composition, (and I am very sure it is every line his own, without any help), which is drawn by a sign-dauber on the cross-board of a ferry-boat, in characters that have hitherto stood the fury of all weathers.

All you that are
To Andrew Heir,
And you that him attend,
Shall ferry'd be
O'er Carrick free,
For Blank's the boatman's friend,

ing communication with Swift, whose influence as well as his talents were not a little to

“ The behaviour of this squire being of the most savage kind, I think myself obliged, out of the tender regard which I bear to all strangers and travellers, to animadvert upon him in as gentle a manner as the occasion will allow, and, therefore, I shall first lay down a few postulatus. That every travelling gentleman is presumed to be under the protection of the governing mayor, sovereign, portruff, or squire of the town or village, which he happens to make his stage; that the laws of humanity, hospitality, and civility, oblige him, if there be no accommodation in the public-houses fit for a person of distinction, to invite him to his own, or supply the deficiencies as well as he can; that if any insult or injury be offered, either to such stranger or his servants, the squire is obliged to justify, vindicate, and espouse their cause. This was the method observed among the civilized people of the old Jewish and heathen world, where we find some of the patriarchs themselves condescending to wash the feet of such travellers as they entertained. And so sacred was the regard for strangers among the heathens, that they dignified their supreme god with the title of Jupiter Hospitalis. Nothing was thought so monstrous as to offer any violence to sojourners among them; which was so religiously observed, that it became the glory of the most distinguished heroes to destroy and extirpate such as were remarkable for their cruelty to strangers. This it was which added so much glory to the character of Theseus, for the punishments he inflicted on Sisiphus, Procrustes, etc. It was owing likewise to a generous indignation, that Hercules threw Diomede (the colonel and squire of that age) to be devoured by those horses which he fed with the flesh of poor travellers; and I find, upon inquiry, that they were coach-horses, too. I shall make no farther remark upon this, nor application, but say to the squire that it

be dreaded, even if it had not been Carteret's object to preserve and strengthen his interest among the adversaries of Walpole, so far as it could be done with security and decency. He was distinguished by a readiness of wit, with which he could retort and parry even the attacks of Swift. Of this we have already seen

is very happy for him the present age has not one Hercules left, or a week would not pass before he should feel the weight of that hero's club, or be thrown, by way of reprisal, under his own horses' feet. And I may farther add that, in this whole kingdom, from one end of it to the other, another squire could not be found who would behave himself in the same manner to the same person: but hundreds who, on the contrary, would have given all the satisfaction that gentlemen of justice, humanity, and common benevolence, ought to do, upon the like accident, although they had never seen him before. I confess this paper contains nothing besides a dry fact, and a few occasional observations upon it. But, in the former, I told my readers that facts would be the chief part of the entertainment I meant to give them. If what I have said may have any effect on the person concerned (to whom care shall be taken to send this account), or if it helps to revive the old spirit of hospitality among us,—or, at least, begets a detestation of the like inhuman usage in others, one part of my design is answered. However, it cannot be unseasonable to expose malice, avarice, brutality, and hypocrisy, wherever we find it.”

I find this story of Squire Ram alluded to by Mr Geoghegan, a correspondent of the Dean, who makes it his boast, that he had filled the offending coachman drunk, and thereby occasioned him to lose both his place and character.—

a very classical instance. And it is said that, about the time when the proclamation was abroad against the Drapier's fourth letter, the Dean visited the castle, and having waited for some time without seeing the lord-lieutenant, wrote upon one of the windows of the chamber of audience these lines :—

My very good lord, 'tis a very hard task,
For a man to wait here who has nothing to ask.

Under which Carteret wrote the following happy reply :

My very good Dean, there are few who come here,
But have something to ask, or something to fear.

On some such occasion, when Carteret had parried, with his usual dexterity, some complaint or request of Swift, he exclaimed, « What, in God's name, do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again ! »

They appear uniformly to have understood each other. Carteret took no offence at the patriotic effusions of the Dean, however vehement, and Swift, without expecting that thorough change of measures respecting Ireland, which he knew it was not in Carteret's power to effect, was contented to exert his influence as occasion offered, to prevail on the lord-lieutenant to promote either his own personal friends, or persons whom he had political reasons for recommending. The Dean had, in-

deed, no longer those high ideas of Carteret's patriotism, which seem to have dictated the poem entitled « The Birth of Manly Virtue;» but, down to the period of his leaving Ireland, he continued to retain as much respect for him, as was consistent with his consenting to remain the involuntary instrument of a ministry whom he hated, and their nominal agent in measures which he secretly disapproved.¹ And he acknowledged at the same time, with gratitude, the lord-lieutenant's attention to his recommendations. Carteret's complaisance on such occasions excited the loud complaints of Richard Tighe, and other violent Whigs, who, knowing by what a precarious tenure the lord-lieutenant held his situation, endeavoured to alarm him by an outcry that his favours were chiefly conferred upon those who were disaffected to government; on which occasion Swift, with his usual ironical gravity, wrote his Vindication of Lord Carteret from the charge of favouring none but Tories, High-churchmen and Jacobites, in which he ascribes the pro-

¹ « I believe my Lord Carteret, since he is no longer lieutenant, may not wish me ill, and I have told him often that I only hated him as lieutenant. I confess he had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of this kingdom than most of his predecessors, and I confess at the same time, that he had, six times, a regard to my recommendation, by preferring so many of my friends in the church: the two last acts of his favour were to add to the dignities of Dr Delany and Mr Stopford.»

motion of Sheridan (so speedily checked), and that of Delany, to the lieutenant's old-fashioned taste for classical literature, which, in these cases, had unfortunately prevailed over the more laudable quality of party zeal. In this treatise the demerits of Lord Allen and Tighe are exposed, as having been most active in exciting those clamours among the high-flown adherents of the ministry, or, as Swift entitles them, the hoppers, pretenders, expecters, and professors, whose claim it was to engross all the favours of government. Besides his friendship for the lord-lieutenant himself, the Dean was upon the best terms with his lady, his mother-in-law, Lady Worsley, and his whole family, as appears from his "Apology," addressed to Lady Carteret.

In the course of these three years, the Dean had some other literary encounters. One of his antagonists, Jonathan Smedley, Dean of Clogher, a man of indifferent character, a trader in the petty scandal of literature, a violent Whig withal, had published a tolerably complete collection of all the ribaldry which he could compose or rake together against Pope and Swift, under the title of GULLIVERIANA, or a fourth volume to their Miscellany. This presumption not only procured him a prominent place in the Dunciad, but, upon his coming to Ireland, under the protection of the Duke of Grafton, and becoming Dean of

Clogher, gained him the farther distinction of repeated notice in the Dean's satires. It was not unprovoked, for Smedley's «much malice» was «mingled with a little wit,» and, like the abuse of all who care not what they say, his lampoons sometimes hit the mark.¹ But what

¹ There has been printed a tolerable poem of Smedley's on Swift's instalment; and the following, though a malignant caricature, has considerable point and vivacity, as well as a distorted resemblance to the Dean's character:—

THE DEVIL'S LAST GAME,

A SATIRE.

SAID Old Nick to St Michael, you use me but ill,
To suppress all my force, and restrain all my skill;
Let me loose at religion, I'll show my good parts,
And try if your doctrine can balance my arts.
'T is a match cried the angel, and drew off his guard,
And the devil slipt from him, to play a court card.
The first help he sought was a qualified mind,
That had compass and void for the use he design'd.
There occur'd a pert nothing, a stick of church timber,
Who had stiffness of will, but his morals were limber:
To whom wit served for reason, and passion for zeal;
Who had teeth like a viper, and tail like an eel;
Wore the malice of hell with heavenly grace,
Of humour enchanting, and easy of face;
His tongue flow'd with honey, his eyes flash'd delight;
He despised what was wrong, and abused what was right;
Had a knack to laugh luckily; never thought twice:
And with coarseness of heart had a taste that was nice.
Nature form'd him malignant, but whetting him fast,
He was edged for decay, and too brittle to last.
He would quarrel with virtue because 't was his foe's,
And was hardly a friend to the vice which he chose:
He could love nothing grave, nothing pleasant forbear;
He was always in jest, but was most so in prayer!

seems to have provoked the Dean more than personal libels, to which he was in general insensible, was, that Smedley affected to court Carteret's favour, in the «looser rhyme,» with which «t'other Jonathan,» as he familiarly termed Swift, used to propitiate Ormond and Oxford. A part of the Dean's displeasure even fell upon Delany, who, being a good deal about the person of the lord-lieutenant, and by no means so indifferent to his own interest as the thoughtless Sheridan, endeavoured, by poetical epistles, fables, etc. occasionally to awake his patron's benevolence. Swift, who despised what he called the trade of a «sweetener,» unmoved by the occasional strokes of flattery to himself, interspersed through those pieces, rebuked Delany with considerable asperity for his assentation. The Doctor had given farther offence, by attacking the *Intelligencer*, to which he was not aware that Swift was a contributor. This produced «Paddy's character of the *Intelligencer*,» in which the assaults of Delany on Sheridan are compared to those of the wasp who pursued the eagle even to the bosom of Jupiter, and even there,

The spiteful insect stung the god.

But, from the address to Delany on the libels

Lord be praised, quoth the devil, a fig for all grace!
So he breathed a new brogue o'er the bronze of his face;
Lent him pride above hope, and conceit above spleen,
Slipt him into church service, and call'd him a Dean.

written against him, it is evident, that, notwithstanding these satirical effusions, he retained a considerable place in the Dean's favour. Indeed, it was the influence of Delany, which indirectly, or perhaps directly, occasioned the final offence taken by Queen Caroline against Swift. To understand this, there must be produced on the stage three characters of a very subordinate and dubious description.

The Reverend Thomas Pilkington was introduced by Delany to Dean Swift's notice, and obtained an humble post in his cathedral. Having some vivacity of talents, though totally devoid of principle, he made himself agreeable by petty attentions and services; and, upon his expressing a wish to go to England, the Dean, who was ever anxious to reward kindness and to serve merit, or what seemed to be such, gave him warm recommendations to his old friend Barber, then Lord Mayor of London, who made Pilkington his chaplain. He also introduced him to Pope, Bolingbroke, and one or two other friends. But they were soon disgusted by his impudence and undisguised profligacy, which produced from Bolingbroke, and even from Barber, an expostulation to Swift on the too great readiness with which he granted such recommendations. Pilkington's wife was a person of much the same description with himself, having some clever-

ness, much petulance, and a plentiful lack both of virtue and discretion. From her husband being for some time about the Dean's person, this gossiping dame picked up some knowledge of his peculiar habits, and some little anecdotes concerning him, which she afterwards represented as having all taken place in her own presence, with the addition of abundance of figments which had no foundation whatever.¹

About the same time, and also by the recommendation of Dr Delany, the Dean interested himself considerably in advancing a subscription for the poems of Mrs Barber, the wife of a woollen-draper in Dublin. She was desirous of dedicating her book to Lord Orrery, and she prevailed upon the Dean to ask permission of his lordship to such effect; and Swift's letter to that purpose is printed as preliminary

¹ Her pretended intimacy at the deanery was in the highest degree exaggerated, for she was never even seen there by Mrs Whiteway. Yet, in some way or other, she had acquired considerable knowledge of the Dean's habits. For example, one of her anecdotes is, that she saw Swift cut the leaves out of a handsomely bound book of poems, and put them into the chimney grate, saying, he would give them what they wanted greatly—*fire*—and that she was employed by him to paste into the cover the letters of his friends. Now, among Dr Lyons' papers, there are actually the folio boards of a book which has suffered this operation, and in the inside, a list, in Swift's hand, of the letters which had been pasted in to supply the original contents.

to her dedication. When this person went to England in 1731, to get her work printed, Swift appears to have recommended her to Dr Arbuthnot, Gay, Lady Betty Germaine, Mrs Cæsar, Mr Barber the printer, and others, whom he thought likely to advance her interest. But an extraordinary circumstance occurred: for about this time Queen Caroline received three letters, with the Dean's signature, but written in a feigned hand, recommending to her in very haughty and unbecoming terms, an inquiry into the distresses of Ireland, and descending at once, from a warm and even violent exposition of national grievances, to the case of Mrs Barber, who is extolled, in the most extravagant manner, as eminent for genius and merit, an honour to her country and to her sex; the best female poet of this or any other age, honoured or envied by every man of genius in England. Queen Caroline was extremely incensed at the tenor of these letters, as well she might, nor did she drop her resentment, although Mrs Howard expressed her conviction that they were a forgery. Swift, on his part, wrote to Pope and to Mrs Howard, disavowing the letters alluded to,¹ disclaiming those extrava-

¹ Dr Johnson says, " he urged the improbability of the accusation, but never denied it; he shuffles between cowardice and veracity, and talks big when he says nothing." It is unpleasant to observe one man of genius

gant eulogies which were heaped on Mrs Barber with so little modesty, and explaining, that he had only taken an interest in her subscription, meaning to assist humble and indigent merit. Nothing more indeed could be inferred from the terms of his letter to Lord Orrery, printed in Mrs Barber's book, as preliminary to her dedication to that nobleman. Nor was it to be thought that he would have expressed himself in terms of such exaggeration pass such harsh and undeserved censures on another. In his letter to Pope, Swift allows he might be guilty of folly—"But in such a degree as to write to the queen, who has used me ill without any cause, and to write in such a manner as the letter you sent me, and in such a style, and to have so much zeal for one almost a stranger, and to make such a description of a woman as to prefer her before all mankind; and to instance it as one of the greatest grievances of Ireland, that her Majesty has not encouraged Mrs Barber, a woollen-draper's wife declined in the world, because she has a knack at versifying,—was to suppose, or fear, a folly so transcendent that no man could be guilty of, who was not fit for Bedlam. You know the letter you sent enclosed is not my hand; and why I should disguise my hand, and yet sign my name, should seem unaccountable." Can this be fairly termed shuffling? Surely the pointing out the utter absurdity of an accusation is the strongest possible mode not only of denying, but disproving it. The reader may also compare the terms of the forged letter with the limited and qualified commendation by which the Dean recommends Mrs Barber to the protection of Lord Orrery. These cannot be better expressed than in the prefatory letter with which he honoured her very indifferent volume of poems.

tion to Queen Caroline, while he was writing his real opinion to the public in a tone of decent moderation. But in this exculpation, he resumed all his former causes of displeasure against the queen and Mrs Howard (now Countess of Suffolk), particularly his being advised by the latter to remain in London after the death of George I. when he designed to have visited the continent; nor did he forget the unrequited present of Irish silk, nor her majesty's omitting to send the promised medals. Lady Suffolk returned a good-humoured answer, and Lady Betty Germaine afterwards undertook, with great spirit, the defence of her friend. But the idea of her insincerity was too deeply impressed upon the Dean's mind; all future correspondence was dropped between them; and the breach became irreconcilable between Swift and the court.

The reader may be disposed to ask, who could have taken it upon them to forge letters addressed to the queen by such a person? The only letter preserved is in a large female hand, bearing no resemblance whatever to that of the Dean, any more than the outrageous compliments to Mrs Barber correspond with his taste or style, who, even in praising his dearest friends, usually conveyed his eulogy under a mask of irony, and whose taste was too just to bestow such extravagant commendations

on verses which scarce reach mediocrity. It is therefore probable they were forged by Mrs Barber, or some of her friends; which is the more likely, as scandal imputed to her an intrigue with an Irish literary character of some distinction. The Pilkingtons, husband and wife, were also acquainted with the poetess, and either of them were capable, from talents and disposition, to have committed such an imposture, and knew enough of the Dean's style to execute such a clumsy imitation as that letter exhibits. There is some reason to think Mrs Barber became alarmed at the probable consequence of these letters, and dreaded the queen's resentment. Indeed, the vexation that Swift was to experience from these unworthy Pilkingtons did not terminate here, and it may be as well to conclude the subject at once.

Swift readily abandoned the profits of his publications to those whom he meant to favour, and, in his regard for Mrs Barber, he permitted her to sell, for her own benefit, the « Verses to a Lady, who desired to be addressed in the heroic style. » She conveyed them to the press through the medium of the notorious Pilkington. Some passages awakened the wrath of Walpole, who, though generally indifferent to satire, seems to have feared that of the Dean, and caught at the opportunity of making his publishers an example. Pilkington

betrayed both Barber the printer and Motte the bookseller; and they were subjected to repeated examinations before the privy council. But as neither judged it necessary to be punctual in recollecting any circumstances which could be prejudicial to themselves, they were discharged without any punishment.¹ Indeed, according to our modern ideas of libels, we search the poem in vain for any passage upon which such a charge could be grounded. But it is possible that it does not now appear in its original state, nor has the editor ever seen the first edition. Swift's eyes were now opened to the infamy of the Pilkingtons, which he expressed strongly in a letter to his old friend, Alderman Barber.² For Mrs Barber, however, he retained his regard, and at her request, so late as 1736, bestowed upon her the manuscript of his "Essay on Polite Conversation," a set of dialogues which he had compiled thirty years before,³ for the purpose of exposing the quaint and tritcal smartnesses which good

¹ See Motte's account of the matter in a letter to the Dean, 31st July, 1735.

² "I confess that Dr Delany, the most eminent preacher we have, is a very unlucky recommender, for he forced me to countenance Pilkington; introduced him to me, and praised the wit, virtue, and humour of him and his wife, whereas he proved the falsest rogue, and she the most profligate whore, in either kingdom."

³ It seems to be the same with the Essay on Conversation, which he designed for publication in 1710.

spirits and gaiety of temper pass off in certain circles for wit and brilliancy. At the same time it must be owned, that, in the editor's apprehension at least, the Dean's native humour has predominated over his desire to ridicule the conversation of the times, for those who frequent society must often have partaken in dialogues much more tiresome than those of Miss Notable and Tom Neverout. The predominance of proverbs in these dialogues must certainly have been rather owing to the Dean's peculiar humour, than to any custom or fashion of the time.

The occasional poems which the Dean published about this time were numerous and of various kinds. Some were satirical, and such were almost universally given to the public anonymously by means of the hawkers. Under this description fall the various political poems already mentioned; and such as we have still to allude to, the attacks upon Lord Allen and Tighe, published in the *Intelligencer*, or in single sheets or broadsides, as they are generally termed, which were consigned to the hawkers. These may be classed with his political satires in prose, since the Dean seldom was offended to the extent of making a public assault upon his adversary, without attacking him at once with both weapons, of prose and verse.

There was another class of fugitive pieces

in which the Dean neglected both the decency due to his station as a clergyman and a gentleman, and his credit as a man of literature. These were poems of a coarse and indelicate character, where his imagination dwelt upon filthy and disgusting subjects, and his ready talents were employed to embody its impurities in humorous and familiar verse. The best apology for this unfortunate perversion of taste, indulgence of caprice, and abuse of talent, is the habits of the times, and situation of the author. In the former respect, we should do great injustice to the present day, by comparing our manners with those of the reign of George I. The writings even of the most esteemed poets of that period contain passages which, in modern times, would be accounted to deserve the pillory. Nor was the tone of conversation more pure than that of composition; for the taint of Charles II.'s reign continued to infect society until the present reign, when, if not more moral, we have become at least more decent than our fathers:

¹ The editor was told by his late regretted friend, Mr John Kemble, that there existed a distinct oral tradition of a conversation having passed between a lady of high rank, seated in a box in the theatre, and Mr Congreve, the celebrated dramatist, who was placed, at some distance; which is so little fit for these pages, that a rake of common outward decency would hardly employ such language in a brothel. Indeed, it is only necessary to refer to the ordinary novels by which our ancestors were amused, to

and although Swift's offences of this description certainly far exceeded those of contemporary authors, the peculiarities of his habits and state of mind are also to be received in extenuation of his grossness. This unfortunate propensity seems nearly allied to the misanthropy which was a precursor of his mental derangement; and notwithstanding the talent employed upon those coarse subjects, « The Lady's Dressing-Room, » — « Cassinus and Peter, » — « Chloe, » and other poems of that class, are to be ranked with the description of the Yahoos, as the marks of an incipient disorder of the mind, which induced the author to dwell upon degrading and disgusting subjects, from which all men, in possession of healthful taste and sound faculties, turn with abhorrence. If it be true, as alleged by Delany, that this propensity only distinguished the latter years of Swift's life,¹ it may be more

estimate the improvement of public delicacy. The editor was acquainted with an old lady of family, who assured him that, in her younger days, Mrs Ben's novels were as currently upon the toilet as the works of Miss Edgeworth at present; and described with some humour her own surprise, when, the book falling into her hands after a long interval of years, and when its contents were quite forgotten, she found it altogether impossible to endure, at the age of fourscore, what at fifteen she, like all the fashionable world of the time, had perused without an idea of impropriety.

¹ So says Delany, and adds, that he had heard the Dean

readily accounted for from this cause, than by supposing that Swift acquired from Pope a habit of thinking and writing, in which he far exceeded Pope himself. Indeed, as he used to call upon Pope to admire Rabelais more than the Bard of Twickenham was disposed to do, it may be urged with probability, that Swift rather led the way than received lessons in the coarseness so rankly practised by the witty Frenchman.¹ It may be lastly remembered, that neither in this nor other cases (unless when he had some particular point in view), did the Dean write with a view to publication. He produced and read his poems to the little circle of friends, where he presided as absolute dictator, where all applauded the manner, and none, it may be presumed, ventured to criticise the subject. Copies were requested, and frequently granted. If refused, the auditors contrived to write down from memory an imperfect version. These, in the usual course of things, were again copied repeatedly, until at length they fell into the hands of some hackney author or bookseller, who, for profit, or to affront the author, or rebuke Stella with great asperity for using a coarse allusion in society. His delicacy, however, must have been only occasional and capricious, for the Journal furnishes many instances how little it influenced his own correspondence with females. As to Delany's charge against Pope, I suspect it arose from personal pique.

¹ Spence's Anecdotes by Singers, p. 141.

with both views, gave them to the public. It would seem that, even to Pope himself, Swift refused an explicit acknowledgment of his having written them.¹

The verses of society, to borrow a phrase from the French, those light passages of humour which were written merely for the circle in which Swift lived at the time, have been already noticed. Besides the constant war of jest and gibe and whimsical eccentricity which was kept up between the Dean and Sheridan, he had now formed an intimacy with Sir Arthur Acheson and his lady, which gave occasion to some of his most distinguished productions of this kind. At their seat of Gosford, in the north of Ireland, he spent in 1728-9 almost a whole year, assisting Sir Arthur in his agricultural improvements, and lecturing, as usual, the lady of the manor, upon the improvement of her health by walking, and her mind by reading; and he appears to have found a docile pupil as well as an obliging hostess. Sir Arthur himself thought with the

¹ It is supposed the following postscript of a letter from Pope, 6th January, 1733-4, refers to some curiosity which Mrs Martha Blount had expressed on the subject of some of these indelicate poems: "I am just now told, a very curious lady intends to write to you, to pump you about some poems said to be yours. Pray tell her, that you have not answered me on the same questions, and that I shall take it as a thing never to be forgiven from you, if you tell another what you have concealed from me."

Dean on political subjects, was a good scholar and fond of the classics, which predilections formed his bond of union with Swift. The circumstance of his letting a ruinous building, called Hamilton's Bawn, to the Crown for a barrack, not only occasioned his being distinguished in the Apology for Lord Carteret, but gave rise to one of the Dean's most lively pieces of fugitive humour.¹ The company also whom he met at Market-hill was agreeable to him. Among these were distinguished Robert and Henry Leslie, sons of the celebrated nonjuror, Dr Leslie.

The younger brother, Henry Leslie, was an excellent scholar, and a perfect fine gentleman. He had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service, but lost his commission upon a regulation being adopted against the employment of Protestants. He resided for several years in the town of Market-hill, near Sir Arthur Acheson's house, and Swift appears to have been his guest for about six months, in 1730, the year following his long residence in Sir Arthur Acheson's family. At Market-hill he also met Captain Creichton,

¹ "The Grand Question Debated, whether Hamilton's Bawn should be turned into a Barrack or Malt-House?" Swift sent a part of this poem, under the title of the Barrack, to the *Intelligencer*. Afterwards many copies were transcribed from one which had been obtained by Lord Carteret, and at length it found its way to the public.

an aged and reduced officer of dragoons, whose campaigns had been chiefly directed against the Scotch west-country Whigs during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. To relieve this old gentleman's necessities, Swift compiled his tales of youthful adventure into a distinct narrative, which was published for the captain's benefit, with considerable success.

His residence at Market-hill was so agreeable to Swift, that at one time he seems to have thought of rendering it more permanent, by taking a lease from Sir Arthur, with the purpose of building a villa. The name of the chosen spot was changed from Drumlack to Drapier's-Hill, in order the better to deserve the intended honour; and Sir Arthur, or some friend in his name, published a poem in the Dublin Journal, addressed to the Dean, and exulting in the future fame of a place on which he had resolved to fix his residence. If we are to interpret literally the poetical apology which Swift made for laying aside this project, he had not found Sir Arthur uniformly guided by his opinion in the management of his estate, and had discovered that the knight's taste in literature, being turned toward metaphysics, was more different from his own than he had expected. But a growing reluctance to expend money, and the distance of the situation from Dublin, a distance rendered in-

commodious by the Dean's increasing infirmities, were probably the real reasons for his declining a project, adopted perhaps hastily, and without much reflection.

Indeed his presence as a visitor, in the state of his health and spirits, was not altogether without inconvenience. Family tradition says, that Swift was already subject to those capricious and moody fits of melancholy and ill-humour, which preceded the decay of his understanding. He sometimes retired from table, and had his victuals carried into his own apartment, from which he would not stir till his good-humour returned. And in one of those fits of caprice he took the liberty, during Sir Arthur Acheson's absence, to cut down an old and picturesque thorn near the house, which his landlord particularly valued. On this occasion, Sir Arthur was seriously displeased, and the Dean was under the necessity of propitiating him by those verses, which have rendered the old thorn at Market-hill immortal.¹

¹ Mr Sheridan has preserved two anecdotes of Swift about this period. Captain Hamilton, of Castle-Hamilton, a plain country gentleman, but of excellent natural sense, came upon a visit at Market-Hill, while the Dean was staying there. "Sir Arthur, upon hearing of his friend's arrival, ran out to receive him at the door, followed by Swift. The captain, who did not see the Dean, as it was in the dusk of the evening, in his blunt way, upon entering the house, exclaimed, 'that he was

Such stories, imperfectly reported by scandal, and listened to with malignant greediness by envy, occasioned a charge against Swift, similar to that which was preferred after his

very sorry he was so unfortunate to choose that time for his visit.'—Why so?—'Because I hear Dean Swift is with you. He is a great scholar, a wit; a plain country'squire will have but a bad time of it in his company, and I don't like to be laughed at.' Swift then stepped to the captain, from behind Sir Arthur, where he had stood, and said to him, 'Pray, Captain Hamilton, do you know how to say *yes*, or *no*, properly?'—'Yes, I think I have understanding enough for that.'—'Then give me your hand,—depend upon it, you and I will agree very well.' The captain told me he never passed two months so pleasantly in his life, nor had ever met with so agreeable a companion as Swift proved to be during the whole time."

The other anecdote records a ready reply by a gentleman who passed by the name of Killbuck Tuite to Swift, who upbraided him with not knowing the way to Market-Hill. " 'That is the way,' said Swift, 'with all you Irish blockheads; you never know the way to any place beyond the next dunghill.'—'Why,' answered Tuite, 'I never was at Market-Hill: Have not you been there, Mr Dean?' He acknowledged he had.—'Then what a damned English blockhead are you,' replied Killbuck, 'to find fault with me for not directing you the way to a place where I never had been, when you don't know it yourself, who have been there?' Swift, with a countenance of great counterfeited terror, immediately rose and changed seats with Doughty (a man of great size and strength), who happened to be next to him, placing the giant between him and Tuite to protect him against that wild man, and skulking behind him like a child, with well acted fear, to the no small entertainment of the company; who, however, were not sorry that the Dean had met with his match."

residence at Gaulstown House. Against this malicious allegation of ingratitude and inhospitality, which was urged in some verses handed about Dublin, and afterwards printed, Swift defended himself at length in a letter to Dr Jinny, Rector of Armagh. He mentions the «Grand Question Debated» as the ground of the charge, and describes this sort of composition as merely sallies of fancy and humour, intended for private diversion; appeals to Jinny's knowledge of the whole history of the verses on the Barrack, and the favourable reception it met with from Sir Arthur Acheson and his lady. The charge of ingratitude brought against him he repels with suitable disdain. «I was originally," he observes, «as unwilling to be libelled as the nicest man can be; but having been used to such treatment ever since I unhappily began to be known, I am now grown hardened; and while the friends I have left will continue to use me with any kindness, I shall need but a small degree of philosophy to bear me up against those who are pleased to be my enemies on the score of party zeal, and the hopes of turning that zeal to account. One thing, I confess, would still touch me to the quick; I mean if any person of true genius would employ his pen against me; but, if I am not very partial to myself, I cannot remember that, among at least two thousand papers full of groundless

reflections against me, hundreds of which I have seen, and heard of more, I ever saw any one production that the meanest writer could have cause to be proud of: for which I can assign a very natural reason; that, during the whole busy time of my life, the men of wit (in England) were all my particular friends, although many of them differed from me in opinions of public persons and proceedings.

In this society, and with these amusements, but with health gradually undermined, Swift endured, and occasionally enjoyed existence, from the death of Stella, in 1727, till about 1732.

SECTION VII.

Swift's conduct as a dignified Clergyman—His controversies with the Dissenters—And with the Bishops of Ireland—Verses on his own Death—Faulkner's edition of his Works—His quarrel with Bettesworth—Satire on Quadrille—Legion Club—Controversy concerning the lowering of the Gold Coin—History of Queen Anne's reign—Swift's private Life at this period—He disposes of his Fortune to found an Hospital—He sinks into incapacity—His Death.

ERE proceeding to the melancholy remainder of Swift's life, we may here resume an account of his conduct as a dignitary of the Church of England, and of the various occasions in which he stood forth in her behalf, when he conceived her rights assaulted and endangered.

It ought to be first noticed, that Swift possessed, in the fullest degree, the only secure foundation for excellence in the clerical profession—a sincere and devout faith in the doctrines of Christianity. This was doubted during his life, on account of the levities in the Tale of a Tub; and also because he carried his detestation of hypocrisy to such a blame-

able excess, that he was rather willing to appear indifferent about religion, than to be suspected of affecting over zeal in her cause. Thus, when in London, he rose early in the morning, that he might attend public worship without observation; and in Dublin, Delany was six months in his house before he discovered that the Dean read prayers to his family with punctual regularity. He was equally regular in his private devotions. The place which he occupied as an oratory was a small closet, in which, when his situation required to be in some degree watched, he was daily observed to pray with great devotion. When his faculties, and particularly his memory, began to fail, he used often to inquire anxiously whether he had been in this apartment in the course of the day, and if answered in the affirmative, seemed to be delivered from the apprehension that he had neglected the duties of devotion.

Thus impressed with the practical belief of the truths which it was his profession to teach, he was punctual in the discharge of those public duties incumbent on his dignified station in the church. He read the service in his cathedral regularly, though with more force than grace of elocution, and administered the sacrament weekly, in the most solemn and devout manner, with his own hands. He preached also in his turn; and the sermons

which have been preserved belie his own severe censure, «that he could only preach pamphlets.» On the contrary, Swift's discourses contain strong, sensible, and precise language, which distinguishes all his prose writings. They are not, indeed, without a cast of his peculiar humour, but it is not driven beyond the verge of propriety. As he considered the power of pulpit elocution as of the last consequence to the church, he used to attend particularly to the discourse of every young clergyman who preached in his cathedral, and never failed to minute down such words as seemed too obscure for the understandings of a popular congregation. In his Letter to a Clergyman, he has dwelt upon this common error of young preachers, which, with other excellent remarks contained in that treatise, shows that Swift not only valued the dignity of his order, but knew that it can only be maintained by the regular discharge of clerical duties in a decorous and practical manner.

But his zeal for the interests of his younger brethren was not only shown by public and private precepts, and by the tracts he wrote upon the Fates of Clergymen, and the Hatred against the Clergy;—he endeavoured to serve them more effectually by patronage and commendation. It was to this purpose chiefly he turned his intimacy with Carteret, and his

long friendship with Lady Betty Germaine, who resided in family with his successor, the Duke of Dorset, and possessed influence with him. The frequency and urgency of his applications, as well as, generally speaking, the worth of those in whose favour they were made, give the best and most solid proof of his real interest in the promotion of clergymen of virtue and learning.

Within his own deanery, Swift was scrupulously accurate in maintaining and improving the revenues of the living, and rejected every proposal which was made to raise wealth for himself, at the expense of the establishment. When he was almost sunk into imbecility, and love of money, a habit rather than a passion, seemed to be his sole remaining motive of action, he rejected, with indignation, a considerable sum, offered for the renewal of a lease, upon terms which would have been unfavourable for his successors. To the last moment of his capacity, he kept an accurate account of the revenues of the cathedral, and even of the sums collected and expended in charity, of which his accounts are now before the editor. One is dated so low as 1742.¹

¹ The entries in these records sometimes exhibit the Dean's peculiar humour, as for example,—

* Increased to Mr Lyon by the pernicious

Upon the same principle, the Dean took care, by consulting proper judges, that the choir of his cathedral should be well regulated, and his correspondence with Dr Arbuthnot often turns upon procuring proper choristers. His zeal in this particular also survived the decay of his abilities, for he drew up a singular document, prohibiting the members of his choir from attending ordinary music meetings, so late as 28th January, 1741. The Dean himself did not affect either to be a judge or admirer of music,¹ yet he possessed the power of mimicking it in a wonderful degree. A person regretting at his table that he had not heard Mr Rosingrave, then just returned from Italy, perform upon the organ; « You shall hear him now,» said Swift, and immediately

vice and advice of my daily sponge and
[a word illegible] Will's son, to 12 scoundrels at 6 1/2 d. per week, fortnight, l. o 6 6
1739-40, January 12. A long extraordinary cold season, and I was worried by Mr Lyon to give more than the fund will support. However I give 20 shill.

March 11. To a blind parson and his wife, o 2 8 1/2

The Will's son, above mentioned, was Francis Wilson, Prebendary of Kilmactolway, living then an inmate in the Dean's family, but expelled from it in 1742, for using personal violence to Swift.

¹ See his verses to himself, beginning,

Grave Dean of St Patrick's how comes it to pass,
That you, who know music no more than an ass, etc.

started off into a burlesque imitation of the chromatics of the musician, to the inexpressible amusement of the company, excepting one old gentleman, who remained unmoved, because, as he said, « he had heard Mr Rosingrave himself perform the same piece that morning. » This exploit led to the Dean's composing the celebrated cantata, burlesquing the doctrine of imitative sounds in poetry and music. It was set to music by Dr John Eccles.

With a great zeal for the rights of his order, which did not, however, in his own opinion, transgress the bounds of toleration, Dean Swift, upon every occasion, when the question occurred, obstinately resisted any relaxation of the penal laws against dissenters. So early as 1708, he had published his Letter on the Sacramental Test, and, about twenty years after, his Narrative of the Attempts of the Dissenters, for the Repeal of the Test Act, appeared in the Correspondent, a periodical paper of the day. This, in 1731, he reprinted as an appendix to the « Presbyterians' Plea of Merit, » a treatise which gave the dissenters great offence, as it contradicted and even ridiculed their pretensions to peculiar zeal for the reformed religion and the Protestant succession. The clamour which this pamphlet excited did not prevent Swift from following it up, in the next year, by an ironical statement, entitled, « The Advantages Proposed by Re-

pealing the Sacramental Test.” In the same year he published “Queries relating to the Sacramental Test;” and in 1733, “Reasons for Repealing the Test in favour of the Roman Catholics;” in all which treatises, the cause of the dissenters was treated with very great severity, and it was more than insinuated, that relaxation ought to be made rather in favour even of the Catholics, than of the Protestant dissenters. The former he compared to a lion, but chained and despoiled of his fangs and claws; the latter to a wild cat loose, in full possession of teeth and talons, and ready to fix them into the Church of England. On the same subject the Dean wrote several fugitive pieces of poetry, and probably more occasional tracts than have yet been recovered.¹

¹ The following tracts on the same subject have been collected by Dr Barrett:—

The Test Act examined by the Test of Reason.

Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.

HORAT.

Dublin, printed in the year 1733.

History of the Test Acts, in which the mistakes in some late writings against it are rectified, and the importance of it to the church explained. Printed at London. Dublin, reprinted by George Faulkner, in Essex Street, opposite to the Bridge, 1733.

The case of the Test considered, with respect to Ireland. Dublin, Faulkner, 1733.

The natural impossibilities of better uniting Protestants, etc. by repealing the Test. Dublin, printed by Faulkner, 1733.

While Swift was with one hand combating the dissenters, he maintained with the other a controversy against the majority of the bishops of his own church. After the accession of the House of Hanover, divines of low-church principles were of course selected to fill vacant sees, besides which, in cases where the minister found himself obliged to confer preferment, without a strict regard to character, he naturally inclined to make the party an Irish rather than an English prelate. When some instances of this kind, real or alleged, were lamented in Swift's presence, he denied the imputation, with his usual ironical bitterness. "No blame," he said, "rested with the court for these appointments. Excellent and moral men had been selected upon every occasion of vacancy. But it unfortunately has uniformly happened, that as these worthy divines crossed Hounslow Heath, on their road to Ireland, to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead."

With such an idea of the Irish prelacy, joined to his native spirit of independence, Swift was

Several of his poetical pieces are levelled against the claims of the dissenters; as the Fable of the Bitches, and the Tale of a Nettle, etc.

induced to regard with a very jealous eye any innovations which they might propose, affecting the great body of the clergy. Under this impression, he wrote, in 1723, "Arguments against enlarging the Power of Bishops in letting Leases," a latitude which, he foreboded, might lead ultimately to the impoverishment of the church. In the same tract he combats some of Lord Molesworth's arguments against the mode of collecting tithes. In 1731, the bishops of Ireland, or a majority of them, brought two bills into Parliament, one for the purpose of enforcing clerical residence, and, with that view, for compelling the clergy to build houses upon their glebes; the other for subdividing large livings into as many portions as the bishops should think fit, reserving to the original church only 300*l.* per annum. In these bills, which were passed in the House of Lords, Swift thought he discovered a scheme on the part of the Irish prelates to impoverish and degrade the body of the clergy, besides subjecting them to the absolute dominion of their spiritual superiors. He argued against the measures with great acrimony, in two tracts, entitled "On the Bill for the Clergy residing upon their Livings," and "Considerations upon two bills sent down from the House of Lords to the House of Commons, relating to the Clergy." Both bills were thrown out by the House of Commons; upon which occa-

sion Swift indulged himself in some bitter poetical satires against the discomfited bishops.¹ The violence of his dislike to these proceedings breaks out in a private letter to his former friend Dr Sterne, Bishop of Clogher, in which he entitles them «those two abominable bills for enslaving and beggaring the clergy;» rejoices that he was not in intimate habits with the bishop when he voted for them, lest he should have discovered «marks of indignation, horror, and despair, both in words and deportment;» and concludes with calling God to witness, «that I did then, and do now, and shall for ever, firmly believe, that every bishop who gave his vote for either of these bills, did it with no other view (bating farther promotion) than a premeditated design, from the spirit of ambition and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole body of the clergy their slaves and vassals until the day of judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt. I have no room for more charitable thoughts, except for those who will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, hope of future promotion (an argument not to be conquered), or the persuasion of cunninger brethren than themselves; when I saw a bishop, whom I had known so many years,

¹ See verses «On the Irish Bishops, 1731;» and «Judas;» also a Letter to Sheridan, 12th September, 1735.

fall into the same *snare*, which word I use in partiality to your lordship. Upon this open avowed attempt, in almost the whole bench, to destroy the church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who, I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for me that I know the persons of very few bishops; and it is my constant rule never to look into a coach, by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with.” To this violent philippic Bishop Sterne returned a very civil and temperate reply.

About this period, that is, between 1730 and 1735, the Dean produced some of his best pieces of poetry. The Rhapsody on Poetry, which contains perhaps a more sustained flight of poetical expression than any of his other compositions, is dated in 1733. Dr King gives us the curious information, that he was assured by Swift that he received the thanks of the royal family, who had interpreted literally the ironical passages of praise addressed to them in the poem, a singular instance of obtuseness of intellect!

The celebrated Verses on Swift's own Death were probably written about 1730 or 1731. This singular compound of knowledge of mankind, satire, and misanthropy, is founded upon the well-known maxim of Rochefoucault, “That we find something not unpleasing in

the misfortunes of our best friends." A spurious copy, containing only about two hundred lines, was published in London, under the title of the «Life and Character of Dr Swift, written by himself,» with a dedication to Pope. This the Dean, in a letter to his illustrious friend, imputes to his having shown the real poem to his acquaintance, some of whom had retained passages by heart. But he reprobates the spurious piece, as full of the cant which he most despised. «I would sink,» he says, «to be a vicar in Norfolk, rather than be charged with such a performance.»¹ In the same letter he expresses his determination not to print the true copy, as being improper to be seen until the author should be no more. On this point he afterwards altered his opinion; and, so late as January, 1738-9, entrusted Dr William King of Oxford² with a copy to be published in London. But as the characters of

¹ Letter to Pope, 1st May, 1733.

² Dr William King, son of the Rev. Peregrine King, born in 1685, became principal of Saint Mary's Hall in 1718. He stood candidate for the University, and being unsuccessful, went over to Ireland in 1727, where he became well known to Swift. His learning, his turn for satire, and a determined spirit of hatred to the existing government, recommended him to Swift, whose confidence he enjoyed. He was long at the head of the Non-juring or Jacobite interest at Oxford, but finally deserted it. Dr King's Anecdotes of his Own Times have been lately published, and contain some interesting particulars.

the prime-minister and Queen Caroline were touched with no gentle hand, Dr King's courage failed him, and the poem was published in a mutilated condition, omitting all such sarcasms as might be construed into a libel. The Dean, in whose estimation these passages were probably the most valuable part of the poem, was displeased with the caution of his editor; and Faulkner, the Dublin bookseller, published by his direction a full and genuine copy of these celebrated verses, with notes at length upon the political allusions, in which the story of the promised medals was not omitted.

To return to the year 1732.—It appears that, about this time, the piracy of the booksellers upon the Dean's literary property had alarmed his friend Pope, who put Swift upon his guard against the solicitations of the London trade, the rather as he himself designed a fourth volume of the Miscellanies, which he published in the month of February, 1732-3. His object he states to have been, to secure a genuine edition of the most valuable of the Dean's fugitive pieces, and to anticipate the schemes of the booksellers, who were publishing what they could collect, without discrimination, inserting some of his own fugitive pieces, in hopes, as he modestly expresses himself, "his weeds might pass for a sort of wild flowers" when mingled with his friend's garland.

But Faulkner, who was now rising into eminence as a Dublin bookseller, chiefly under the countenance and patronage of Dean Swift,¹ was the first who had the honour of giving to the world a collected and uniform edition of the works of this distinguished English classic. The original edition consisted of four volumes (increased after the Dean's death by repeated supplements). The arrangement is uncommonly confused and incoherent; nor is there the least reason for supposing, as seems to be intimated by Lord Orrery, and is positively averred by Wilson in the *Swiftiana*, that the Dean himself revised, or even authorized, the publication. Faulkner, after the decay of the Dean's faculties, no doubt found his interest in propagating such a report. But Swift's

¹ James Hoey, who was at one time a partner of Faulkner, published [without date] a collection of Swift's pieces, in prose and in verse, entitled "*The Drapier's Miscellany*." It contains the following pieces:—

1. The "*Modest Proposal*" for eating the Children of the Poor.
2. The *Journal of a Dublin Lady*.
3. Poem to King George, in Lilliputian verse, beginning "*Smile, smile, blest isle.*" [Spurious.]
4. *Namby Pamby*.
5. *Faithful Inventory of the Household Goods of Dean Swift*. [By Sheridan.]
5. *Elegy on the death of Demar*.
7. Letter in behalf of the parishioners to a Minister who used several hard words in his Sermon.

letters have since shown that he was barely passive upon the occasion. Indeed far from giving Faulkner authority for the publication, the Dean avers that he expressly told him, he was desirous his works should not be printed in Dublin, but in London. Faulkner replied, that as the pieces were the property of various booksellers, they could not be published in a collected state in England; that he was assured of a numerous list of subscribers; and, hoping the Dean would not be angry at his pursuing his own interest, he intimated an intention to proceed in his purpose, even without permission of the author. This is the more to be regretted, as Charles Ford, whom the Dean had entrusted so often in conveying his publications to the press, had offered the use of his corrected copy of Gulliver's Travels, and other facilities for improving a genuine edition.¹

¹ There is subjected to the letter in the original MS. the following postscript:

A Catalogue of Pamphlets and Papers, which I have bound, and those marked * single. I believe I can have any of the others from Ald. B. [Alderman Barber.]

* Conduct of the Allies.

* Remarks on the Barrier Treaty.

* Advice to the October Club.

A new Journey to Paris.

Remarks on the Letter to the Seven Lords appointed to examine Gregg.

Swift, as the laws of Ireland afforded no remedy, had no alternative but remaining quiescent; and he repeatedly expresses his regret that the collection had not been published in London, by an agreement among the English booksellers who held his copyrights, rather than in Dublin. There is, therefore, no room for supposing that this Dublin edition underwent the correction of the Dean; and, indeed, so great was his indifference to literary reputation, that it is possible he would have given himself little trouble upon the matter, even had the book been published in London, as he himself desired.¹

* Some Reasons to prove that no Whig is obliged to oppose her Majesty.

Importance of the Guardian.

* Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction.

Mr Collins's Discourse of Free-thinking abstracted for the Use of the Poor.

Public Spirit of the Whigs.

* Horace, *Strenuus et Fortis*.

* Examiners, from Number 13 to Number 45.

* Toland's Invitation to Dismal.

* Ballad upon Note in Game.

* Peace and Dunkirk, a Song.

* Windsor Prophecy.

* Hugh (*i. e.* Hue) and Cry after Dismal.

* Pretender's Letter to a Whig Lord.

Some Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs, never printed.

¹ See the Dean's sentiments concerning Faulkner's un-

The principal interest which Faulkner could claim in the Dean was his having suffered from political prosecution, a fate which, sooner or later, befel most of Swift's publishers. The circumstance arose out of a remarkable incident of the Dean's life, which is now to be narrated.

In a satire printed in 1733, ridiculing the dissenters for pretending to the title of "Brother Protestants, and Fellow Christians," the dertaking, but particularly a letter to Pope, wherein he states his conversation with Faulkner on the subject. The late Mr Deane Swift used to express great displeasure at Lord Orrery's having insinuated that his distinguished relative had corrected the Dublin edition. The Dean had a regard for Faulkner as an industrious young man, but he was much too frivolous a character to be admitted to his confidence. There is a well-known anecdote, that Faulkner once called on the Dean, full dressed as a fashionable beau of the day. Swift received him as a stranger, with much affected respect, but refused to believe he was George Faulkner. The bookseller was obliged to retire, and reappear in a dress more suited to his station. "Ah, my good friend George," said the Dean, "I am happy to see you! Here was a coxcomb an hour ago, who pretended to pass for you, but I sent him packing." The Dean's acquiescence in Faulkner's edition, though he had no means to prevent it, raised the jealousy of Motte, and other London booksellers, who held his copyrights. The former filed a bill in Chancery against Faulkner, to prevent the sale of the Dublin edition of Swift's Works in England. Swift interposed on this occasion as mediator (see his letter to Motte, 25th May, 1786), and it would appear his mediation was successful, from the subsequent amicable intercourse between the two booksellers.

Dean, among other ludicrous illustrations of their presumption, introduced this simile;

Thus at the bar the booby B———,
Though half a crown o'er pays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law, nor text, nor margent,
Calls Singleton his brother sergeant.

The blank in the termination of the first couplet indicated Mr Bettesworth, a member of Parliament, and sergeant at law,¹ remarkable for his florid elocution in the House, and at the bar, who had been very active in promoting those proceedings which Swift regarded as prejudicial to the clergy. Upon reading the lines, he was wrought up to such a height of indignation, that, drawing out a knife, he swore he would, with that very instrument, cut out the Dean's ears. After this denunciation, he went in the height of his fury to the deanery, and from thence to Mr Worrall's, where Swift was on a visit. The family were at dinner, and the stranger being shown into another

¹ The rhyme is said to have been suggested by a casual circumstance. A porter brought a burden to the Dean's house while he was busy with the poem, and labouring to find a rhyme for this uncommon name, the more anxiously, that Bettesworth exulted in the idea of its being impossible. The fellow's demand being considered as exorbitant, he wiped his forehead, saying, with the humour of a low Irishman, "Oh! your reverence, my sweat's worth half a crown." The Dean instantly caught at the words, "Ay, that it is,—there's half a crown for you." This anecdote is given on the authority of Mr Theophilus Swift.

apartment, the Dean was called out to him. The sergeant advanced to him with great haughtiness, and said, « Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's, I am Sergeant Bettesworth : » this being his affected mode of pronouncing his name. « Of what regiment ? » answered Swift. After a very angry parley, Bettesworth began to raise his voice, and gave such indications of violence, that Mr Worrall and the servants rushing in, compelled him to withdraw. The tradition in the Dean's own family bears that Bettesworth actually drew his knife ; but the Dean's narrative transmitted to the lord-lieutenant, does not countenance that last excess, only affirming, that, by Bettesworth's own report, he had a sharp knife in his pocket, and a footman attending in the hall to open the door to one or two ruffians who waited his summons in the street.¹ The Dean remained composed and

¹ Various accounts of this interview have been given, but that of the Dean to the Duke of Dorset, written immediately after it took place, ought to be preferred. The following additional circumstances are mentioned by Sheridan : « O Mr Dean, » said Bettesworth, in answer to the retort mentioned in the text, « We know your powers of raillery, you know well enough that I am one of his majesty's sergeants at law. » — « What then, sir ? » — « Why then, sir, I am come to demand of you, whether you are the author of this poem (producing it) and these villanous lines on me ? » — at the same time reading them aloud with great vehemence of emphasis, and much gesticulation. —

unmoved during this extraordinary scene. It was fortunate for the sergeant's person, as well as his character, that he did not proceed in his meditated vengeance on the person of an old man, and a clergyman, since the attempt must have been made at the risk of his life. So soon as the news transpired, the inhabitants of that part of Dublin, called Earl of Meath's Liberty, assembled, and sent a deputation to Swift, requesting his permission to take vengeance on Bettesworth, for his intended violence to the Patriot of Ireland. Swift returned them thanks for their zeal, but enjoined them to disperse peaceably, and, adding a donation of two or

“Sir,” said Swift, “it was a piece of advice given in my early days by Lord Somers, never to own or disown any writing laid to my charge; because if I did this in some cases, whatever I did not disown afterward would infallibly be imputed to me as mine. Now, sir, I take this to have been a very wise maxim, and as such have followed it ever since; and I believe it will hardly be in the power of all your rhetoric, as great a master as you are of it, to make me swerve from that rule.” Many other things passed, as related in the above-mentioned letter. But when Bettesworth was going away, he said, “Well, since you will give me no satisfaction in this affair, let me tell you, your gown is your protection; under the sanction of which, like one of your own Yahoos who had climbed up to the top of a high tree, you sit secure, and squirt your filth round on all mankind.” Swift had candour enough not to conceal this last circumstance, at the same time saying, “that the fellow showed more wit in this than he thought him possessed of.”

three guineas, prohibited them from getting drunk with the money, adding, "You are my subjects, and I expect you will obey me." It is no slight proof of the despotism of his authority, founded as it was solely upon respect and gratitude, that his defenders complied with his recommendation in both particulars, and peaceably and soberly separated to their dwellings. For some time, however, they formed a guard among themselves for the purpose of watching the deanery, and the person of the Drapier, lest Bettesworth should have adopted any new scheme of violence.

The consequences of this rashness were very serious to Mr Bettesworth, for not only was he overwhelmed by the Dean and his friends with satire and ridicule, to which he had shown himself so keenly sensible,¹ but, in the bitterness of his heart, he confessed, in the House of Commons, that Swift's satire had deprived him of twelve hundred pounds a-year. Yet his irritability was rather increased than allayed by this unpleasing result, as appears from a subsequent instance.

Dr Josiah Horte, Bishop of Kilmore, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, although he had formerly been himself an object of Swift's sa-

¹ "Bettesworth's Exultation."—"Epigram inscribed to the Honourable Sergeant Kite."—"The Yahoo's Overthrow, or the Kevan Bayle's new Ballad."—"On the Archbishop of Cashel and Bettesworth."

tire,¹ was now advanced so far into his intimacy, that the Dean, in 1736, condescended to be the prelate's agent, in correcting and transmitting to Faulkner, a satire composed by Horte, upon the general taste for Quadrille;² or, in the quaint words of the bishop's request, "he pruned the loose feathers, sent the kite to the Falconer, and set it a-flying." The satire was of a very general and common-place kind, but unfortunately proposed, among other regulations, that all disputes and altercations at play should be laid before the "renowned Sergeant B———," with a fee of one fish, *ad valorem*, and a right of appeal to a wooden figure in Essex-street, known by the name of the Upright Man, in case the sergeant's decision should be unsatisfactory. This insinuation was sufficient to rouse the angry feelings of Mr Bettesworth, who, although the name was dropped out of subsequent editions of the satire, thought it worth his while to complain to the House of Commons of breach of privi-

¹ See the "Storm, or Minerva's Petition," in which Bishop Berkeley's morals are complimented at the expense of those of his brother prelate. Horte is there termed Bishop Judas; but it seems uncertain whether he is the prelate designated by the same hateful epithet, in the verses so entitled. The chief motive of the Dean's complaisance seems to have been a hope that Horte might be induced to provide for Sheridan.

² "A new Proposal for the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille."

lege. Faulkner the printer was arrested, put to considerable expense, and thrown into jail among ordinary felons, though he prayed to be admitted to bail. The Dean, whose blood boiled at these tyrannical proceedings, avenged himself upon Hartley Hutchinson,¹ the justice of peace who signed the committal, by two or three severe lampoons, and wrote, upon the same occasion, the indignant lines commencing,

Better we all were in our graves,
Than live in slavery to slaves.²

Faulkner naturally looked to Horte for some indemnification; but the bishop intimated to him, "that in such dealings the bookseller is the adventurer, and must run the hazard of gain or loss." This sordid and unhandsome evasion occasioned Swift's writing to the bishop a very severe letter, which, it is to be presumed, produced the bookseller some more satisfactory answer.³

¹ See a Vindication of the Libel, and a Friendly Apology for a certain Justice of Peace.

² The sentiment expressed in this couplet seems to have occupied the Dean's mind much at the time. It is written down with one or two trifling variations upon several memorandum papers.

³ In a subsequent letter to Sheridan, the Dean says, "I did write him [Bishop Horte], lately, a letter with a witness, relating to his printing Quadrille (did you ever see it), with which he half ruined Faulkner. He promises, against

In 1733, the Dean's attention was attracted to some proceedings in the Irish Parliament, which seemed to him subversive of the rights of the clergy. A bill had been brought into the House of Commons for encouraging the linen manufactory, containing a clause for commuting, by a perpetual modus, the tithe payable on the articles of hemp and flax. The Dean, with Grattan, Jackson, and other clergymen, on behalf of the clergy of Ireland, presented a petition, praying to be heard by counsel against this part of the bill; and Swift composed, on the same subject, a treatise addressed to the members of the House of Commons. The bill appears, in consequence of this opposition, to have been dropt; but subsequent vexations arose to the clergy from the same quarter.

In 1734, an almost general resistance was made against the tithe of pasturage, or tithe of agistment, as it is technically called. The House of Commons interfered against this claim on the part of the clergy, and so effectually, that the clergy were intimidated from making, and courts of law deterred from receiving, suits upon that ground. The Dean and many of his brethren viewed the conduct of his nature, to consider him, but interposed an exception which I believe will destroy the whole."

"Some reasons against the bill for settling the tithe of hemp, flax, etc. by a modus."

the Commons on this occasion as partial and oppressive,—partial, because so many of the members were affected by that claim, that they might be considered as judging in their own cause, and oppressive, because Swift conceived that the tithe for agistment was as plainly comprised in the act of Henry VIII, as that of corn and hay. Other cases occurred about the same time, which seemed to indicate a general disposition on the part of the great land-proprietors to innovate upon the rights of the church. A cruel and exaggerated instance was the case of the Reverend Roger Throp, who, refusing to surrender to the patron of his living, Colonel Waller, some of its most important rights, is alleged to have been harassed by so many law-suits, assaults, and arrests, that his courage and health gave way under them, and he actually died of a broken heart. Robert Throp, brother of the deceased, presented to Parliament a petition, stating the manifold grievances which his deceased relation had sustained from Colonel Waller, and praying the House to permit the course of law to proceed against him by arrest, notwithstanding his being a member of Parliament. About November, 1735, while this petition was in dependence, the Dean appears to have written for the newspapers a statement of Mr

Throp's case, which produced on the colonel's part an advertisement, offering a reward for discovery of the author.¹ When the petition came before the House, it was refused unanimously.

These combined circumstances induced Swift to regard the existing Irish House of Commons as determined enemies to the rights of the church, and as leagued to oppress the clergy. He gave vent to his indignation in more than one satire, but particularly in the last poem of any length or importance which

¹ On 8th November, 1735, Mrs Whiteway writes to the Dean, "Mr Waller has printed an advertisement, offering ten guineas reward to any person that will discover the author of a paragraph, said to be the case of one Mr Throp. I do not know whether you heard any thing of such an affair before you left town, but I think it is said there is some trial to be about it before the House of Commons, either next week, or the week following. I beg you will not leave your papers and letters on the table, as you used to do at the deanery, for boys and girls and wives will be peeping."

To this hint the Dean replies, "As to Waller's advertisement, if I was in town I would, for ten guineas, let him know the author of the narrative; and I wish you would, by a letter in an unknown hand, inform him of what I say; for I want the money to repair some deficiencies here." It would be satisfactory to discover the Dean's "paragraph," which, from the date and internal evidence, must have been distinct from the octavo pamphlet on the same subject, entitled, "Lay Tyranny, or the Clergy Oppressed by Patrons and Impropriators, instanced in the memorable case of the Reverend Mr Roger Throp." Dublin, 1739.

he ever composed, entitled the Legion Club. Old age had now long overtaken him, and even when he was holding the pen on this occasion, he had a continued and intense attack of his constitutional vertigo, from which he never fully recovered. The Legion Club is notwithstanding one of the most animated and poignant satires that even the Dean of St Patrick's ever produced. It seems almost impossible that the poet should have sustained the extreme virulence of invective with which the description opens. Yet, when the poet descends from general to individual satire, every line has the sting of a hornet. The persons chiefly satirized in this remarkable production are Sir Thomas Prendergast, Colonel Waller, and other members whom the Dean regarded as most active in opposing the claims of the clergy. "The puppy pair of Dicks," Richard Tighe and Richard Bettsworth, his old foes, are not forgotten. The poem was no sooner published, than spurious copies appeared, in which the number of individuals satirized was considerably enlarged. It gave great offence, as may easily be supposed, and prosecutions were threatened, but none took place.

About the same time the Dean opposed a scheme proposed by the primate Boulter for

¹ See letter from Swift to Sheridan.

regulating the exchange of Ireland, by diminishing the value of the gold coin, which his lordship presaged would be the readiest mode of increasing the quantity of silver currency, of which the want had been much felt. The Dean had a dislike to the primate, which was by no means lessened by his being the real and efficient prime-minister for Ireland, and the chief correspondent of Walpole upon matters affecting that kingdom. He had exercised his satire upon him accordingly.¹ But at the time of lowering the gold coin, Swift's exertions excited a ferment, which, though it subsided sooner, and without producing any change in the intended measure, resembled, in other respects, the opposition to Wood's scheme. The Dean spoke against the measure at the Tholsel or Exchange of Dublin;² he distributed songs among the people; and

¹ See an epigram, also "The verses on Rover, a Lady's Spaniel." These were written in ridicule of what was called Philips' Namby-Pamby verses, the mistress of the spaniel being Mrs Boulter, who was very fat. The primate was the patron of Philips, and brought him to Ireland as his secretary, which probably did not increase Swift's respect for him. Hence the line of Pope,

"Still to our bishop Philips seems a wit."

² See Mrs Whiteway's letter to Sheridan, "The Dean, this day (24th April, 1736), went to the Tholsel as a merchant, to sign a petition to the government against lowering the gold, where we hear he made a long speech, for which he will be reckoned a Jacobite."

on the day when the proclamation was read, displayed a black flag from the steeple of the cathedral, and caused a dumb or muffled peal to be rung by the bells of St Patrick's. The discontent of the lower orders was so great, that danger was apprehended to the primate's person, and his house was guarded by soldiers. At the lord mayor's entertainment, the archbishop publicly charged Swift with having inflamed the prejudices of the people against him. «I inflame them!» retorted Swift, conscious of his power among the lower orders, «had I lifted my finger, they would have torn you to pieces,»—a threat which he afterwards expressed in poetry.¹ The measure of lowering the gold coin, however, proved practically advantageous, and the clamour which it excited was speedily forgotten.

Thus ended Swift's last interference in public affairs, in which, excepting during the earlier part of George I.'s reign, he had been actively and often perilously engaged from 1708 to 1736. He continued, however, on all occasions, to express and maintain his original sentiments, of which he was so tenacious, that he refused to accept of the freedom of the city of Cork, until they recorded upon the instrument of freedom, and the silver box in

¹ See «Ay and No, a tale from Dublin.» Also a ballad on the lowering the coin, which alludes to the circumstances of the muffled peal and black flag.

which it was presented, their approbation of his political and patriotic principles, as the ground of distinguishing him by such an honour.¹ At a subsequent period of extreme weakness, Bishop Rundle has mentioned with indecent triumph, especially considering he had called Swift friend, an instance that his political dislikes survived the decay of his mental faculties. In 1741-2, upon the reported disgrace of Lord Orford, he set up an equipage.² Nor is it to be forgotten, that

¹ See the Dean's letter to the Mayor and Corporation of Cork, 15th August, 1737.

² The Dean used formerly to say, that he was the poorest man in Ireland who was served in plate, and the richest who kept no carriage. The account of his setting up one is thus given by Bishop Rundle, in a letter preserved in the British Museum. "As soon as Dean Swift heard that Lord Orford was dismissed from power, he awakened with one flash of light from his dreaming of what he once was, and cried, I made a vow that I would set up a coach when that man was turned out of his places; and having the good fortune to behold that day, long despaired of, I will show that I was sincere: and sent for a coach-maker. The operator comes,—had one almost ready,—it was sent home,—horses were purchased,—and the Dean entered the triumphant double chariot, supported by two old women, and his daily flatterer, to entertain him with the only music he had an ear to hear at this age; they made up the *partie quarrée*, and, with much ado, enabled his decrepit reverence to endure the fatigue of travelling twice round our great square, by the cordial and amusement of their fulsome commendations, which he calls facetious pleasantry. But the next packet brought word

Bolingbroke and Pulteney fed his antipathy against Walpole and the royal family, by regularly transmitting to him the lampoons of the day.¹

(what lying varlets these news-writers are!) that Lord Orford's party revived, etc. Swift sunk back in the corner of the coach, his under jaw fell; he was carried up to his chamber and great chair, and obstinately refused to be lifted into the treacherous vehicle any more, till the news-writers at least shall be hanged for deceiving him to imagine that Lord Orford was *bona fide* out of power, though visibly out of place. Now he despairs of seeing vengeance taken on any, who, odd fellow! he thinks more richly deserve it; and since he cannot send them out of the world with dishonour, he intends soon to go out of it in a pet." —Letter signed Thomas Derry, dated March 20, 1741-2. MSS. Birch, 4291. *British Museum*.

The bishop is incorrect in supposing that Swift laid aside the equipage which was thus set up. It appears, from Wilson's affidavit, that Swift, in July, 1742, had a carriage of his own.

¹ The Dean has labelled a paper containing three such lampoons, "An excellent satyr, part prose and part verse, received November 1st, 1738." The verses are a burlesque birth-day ode for 1738 (by Pulteney or Chesterfield), in the assumed person of "Colley Bays, Esq.;" and some lines on a coinage having been sent abroad, without the words *Dei Gratia* in the legend. Both have been printed. The prose lampoon is less known, and shall be inserted as a curiosity.

Supposed to be written on account of three gentlemen being seen in Kensington Gardens by the King and Queen, while they were walking.

"Now it came to pass in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in the 8th month, in the 6th year of

But although the Dean must from henceforward be considered as having ceased entirely to interest himself in the politics of the day, his mind, as is usual in age, appears to have reverted to those earlier scenes in which he once played a busy part, and he became, in 1737, desirous of publishing the History of the Peace of Utrecht, which he had written in 1714. With this view, he gave the manuscript, now entitled «The History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne,» to Dr King of Oxford, that it might be printed in London. A report of his intention having transpired, seems to have alarmed the Earl of Oxford (son of the celebrated statesman), Mr Lewis (under-secretary of state during the last years of Queen Anne), and other persons concerned,

the King, in the beginning of hay harvest, that the King and the Queen walked arm-in-arm in the gardens [which they had planted upon the banks of the river, the great river Euphrates; and behold there appeared on a sudden three armed men, sons of the giants. Then Nebuchadnezzar the King lifted up his voice and cried, Oh, men of war, who be ye? and is it peace? But they answered him not. Then spake he and said, There is treachery, Oh, my Queen, there is treachery; and he turned his face and fled. Now when the Queen had seen what had befallen my Lord the King, she girt up her loins and fled also, crying, Oh, my God! So the King and the Queen ran together, but the King outran her mightily, for he ran very swiftly, neither turned he to the right hand nor to the left, for he was sore afraid where no fear was, and fled when no man pursued.»

who feared lest the Dean, in his state of mind and body, might be inadequate to the delicate task of correcting a work in which the characters of Harley and all who had acted with him were deeply implicated. Mr Lewis pressed, in their common name, to be permitted to see the manuscript before it was sent to press; a request which the Dean granted with hesitation and reluctance.¹ The «History» was accordingly perused by Lord Oxford and some of his friends, and, in a letter from Mr Lewis, they state various objections to its appearing in its original state. Several of these apply to what may be considered as the *speciosa miracula* of the Dean's narrative, such as the imputations on the courage of Marlborough, and the insinuation that Prince Eugene recommended the assassination of Harley. But they principally demurred to the manner in which the Dean had drawn several characters of the leading Whigs, and expressed their conviction that, if the History were published without alteration, nothing could save the printer and publisher from some grievous punishment. Lewis, therefore, conjured the

¹ See a letter from Mr Lewis, anxiously pressing this request, 30th June, 1737, with the Dean's answer, 8th April, p. 93, intimating some difficulty in complying with it. Mr Lewis again writes upon the same subject, 4th August following, and the Dean appears reluctantly to have acquiesced.

Dean, by his own fame, and that of those friends whom he meant to honour by his narrative, and as he valued his personal liberty and the enjoyment of his fortune, not to permit the manuscript to be printed until he had adopted the amendments his letter suggested.¹ The Dean, unable or unwilling to attempt the required alterations, silently acquiesced in the opinion happily expressed by Lewis, that the period of which he treated was too remote for a pamphlet, yet too early for a history.² What became of the original manuscript does not appear; but the History was published in 1758, by an anonymous editor, who professes to give it as a literary curiosity, from

¹ This important letter, which contains the real reason for suppressing the "History," is dated 8th April, 1738. It is quoted in the Dean's hand, "On some mistakes in the History of Four last Years," with the remarkable addition, "*Mon ami prudent.*"

² See Dr King's Letter of 23d January, 1738-9, in which, however, there is an important paragraph omitted by the transcriber, as I am informed by Mr Theophilus Swift. After the word "*direct,*" and before commencing the next paragraph, the original manuscript proceeds thus:—

"I say nothing about your manuscript of the History, because I have been assured by Lord Orrery and Mr Pope that you are satisfied with Mr Lewis's, and have suspended the publication of that work in consequence of his representation."

This passage sums up the evidence concerning the suppression of the History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne.

a copy which had been accidentally preserved in Ireland. The whole preface sustains a high and violent tone of Whig politics. To such an uncongenial editor was the Dean to owe posthumous obligation, for publishing a work suppressed during his life time at the request, or rather the entreaty, of Tory friends. The history was coldly received by the public, as relating to events gone by and forgotten. A French version of it appeared in 1765.¹

It was through the medium of Dr King that Swift sent to the press, as already observed, the «Verses on his own Death,» and he seems also to have meditated the publication of his well-known Instructions to Servants, on which, though it only exists as a fragment, he had bestowed much pains and observations. He himself was a kind, but a strict master, and his mode of managing his domestics would hardly have succeeded with any one but himself, who had established his will as despotic, however capricious.² He was equally minute

¹ Somewhat too amply entitled «Histoire du Regne de la Reine Anne d'Angleterre,» 8vo, with a fictitious Amsterdam title-page.

² The story is well known of his commanding «Sweet-heart,» as he called his cookmaid Mary, to carry down a joint of meat and do it *less*, and, on her alleging that was impossible, his grave request, that when in future she pleased to commit a fault, he hoped she would choose one which might be mended. Upon another oc-

in observing the servants of others, and told Lord Orrery one day, that the attendant who, on occasion, after he had permitted Sweetheart to set out on a journey to see a sister's wedding, he sent for her back, by express, to shut the door. At another time, hearing one of his servants, in the act of undressing, express a luxurious wish that he could ride to bed, the Dean summoned the man up stairs, commanded him to fetch a horse from the paddock, and prepare him for a journey, and when the poor fellow reported that the horse was ready, "mount him then, sirrah," said the Dean, "and ride to bed." There is another well-attested anecdote, communicated by the late Mr William Waller of Allans-town, near Kells, to Mr Theophilus Swift. Mr Waller, while a youth, was riding near his father's house, where he met a gentleman on horseback reading. A little surprised, he asked the servant, who followed at some distance, where they came from? "From the Black Lion," answered the man. "And where are you going?"—"To heaven, I believe," rejoined the servant, "for my master's praying, and I am fasting." On farther inquiry, it proved that the Dean, who was then going to Laracor, had rebuked this man for presenting him in the morning with dirty boots. "Were they clean," answered the fellow, "they would soon be dirty again."—"And if you eat your breakfast," retorted the Dean, "you will be hungry again, so you shall proceed without it," which circumstance gave rise to the man's bon-mot. Another instance of his strict discipline, communicated by Mr Swift, shall close this long note.

"He was dining one day in the country, and, at going away, the servant of the family brought him his horse. As the man held the horse, the Dean called to his own man, and asked him whether it would not be proper to give something to the servant for his trouble? The man assented, and the Dean asked him what he thought

waited had committed fifteen faults during the time of dinner. Yet his mode of reprimanding them was more frequently whimsical than harsh. Upon one occasion, a servant waiting at table had displeased him;—there was laver on the table, called in Ireland sloak, which Mrs Whiteway was fond of; the Dean had tasted and disliked it, but said nothing, till about to reprove the man, when he broke out with “you-you-you worse than sloak.” Sometimes he chose to mix in the mirth of his domestics. Once finding that his house-keeper, Mrs Ridgeway, had, according to custom, on his birth-day, made an entertainment for the neighbours, he requested to know at whose expense the treat was provided, and understanding that he himself was the founder of the feast, he sat down among the guests, and partook of their cheer with great good humour. Upon another occasion, he and some friends resolved to celebrate a classical Saturnalia at the deanery, and actually placed
which he had obtained from their table
would be proper to give the man, and whether half a crown was too much? ‘No, sir!’—‘Very well,’ replied Swift, and gave the man the half-crown. When the board-wages of the week came to be paid, he stopped the half-crown, and reads his servant a lecture; telling him, it was his duty to attend him, and not to leave him to the care of others; that he brought him to the house, that he might not give trouble to others; and pressed his argument by supposing he would not in future be quite so generous of his master’s money.”

their servants at table while they themselves attended on them. The butler, who represented the Dean, acted his master to the life. He sent Swift to the cellar in quest of some particular wine, then affected to be discontented with the wine he brought, and commanded him to bring another sort. The Dean submissively obeyed, took the bottle to the sideboard and decanted it, while the butler still abused him in his own style, and charged him with reserving some of the grounds for his own drinking. The Dean, it was observed, did not altogether relish the jest, but it was carried on as long as it gave amusement; when the tables were removed, the scene reversed, an entertainment served up to the proper guests, and every thing conducted by the very servants who had partaken of the Saturnalia, in an orderly and respectful manner.¹ These anecdotes serve to show that the Dean took a particular pleasure in observing this class of society, and explain the extraordinary insight which he had obtained into their habits and

¹ This anecdote is given by Mr Theophilus Swift, on the authority of Mrs Whiteway. It appears in an exaggerated and distorted form in the *Swiftiana*, where it is said there was a purpose to make the Saturnalia annual, but that the Dean, unable to endure the raillery of the butler, gave a loose to passion, beat his representative, and drove the servants out of the room. For these additions, I am informed by Mr Swift, there is no foundation.

character. The Instructions to Servants form only a fragment. The Dean had intended a more regular work, but indisposition interrupted his labours.¹ In 1738 and 1739, he expresses, by repeated inquiries at Faulkner, some anxiety about a part of the manuscript. It was not, however, published until after his death. This is almost the last literary subject in which Swift seems to have been interested.

¹ The following is a fragment of an intended preface. It occurs in the original draft of the instructions, but is in many places effaced and illegible. I am indebted to Mr Theophilus Swift for a copy of that which remains intelligible.

* * * [*Two or three words wanting.*] "A Preface to Servants.

"I have calculated these directions chiefly for town-servants; yet have here and there scattered some proper for the country. I have likewise considered some things only for private families, from 400*l.* to 1000*l.* per annum; but others for great persons and gentlemen of plentiful estates.

"I left my master, who had got the house-maid with child, and he gave me a portion to marry her, and got me an office in the customs.

"There are some *ways* of servants that I cannot give a reason for; however, for *honour* I have mentioned them; because I doubt not there was some reason for it.

"Add the directions without reason at the end, in a different letter. My directions are fitted for families from 400*l.* to ten or twenty thousand pounds. The reader will not blame us for being so large on footmen, having been one myself, etc.

"Gil Blas hath mentioned something of servants, etc. but not in my way. [Here follow some imperfect pas-

We return to the private life of Swift subsequent to 1732. The incidents are short and melancholy. For a while his correspondence with Pope, Bolingbroke, Gay, and the Duchess of Queensberry, Gay's lively and spirited patroness, sustained his connexion with England. Bolingbroke attempted, so late as 1732, to negotiate an exchange of his deanery with the living of Burfield in Berkshire. But it was too late. The sacrifice of dignity and income, considerable at any time, became impossible after the habits of nearly twenty years. The die was therefore cast, and Swift was to close his days in the country of his birth, not in that of his choice. Indeed, although his dislike to Ireland does not appear to have abated in its acrimony, his desire to exchange his residence there for an abode in England must have been gradually diminished, as, in the language of the poet,

“ Tie after tie was loosened from his heart ;”
and when his remnant of life could only be spent in melancholy recollections of the past, or anxious anticipations of the future.

The sudden death of the kind-hearted and affectionate Gay was the first severe shock of this nature. Pope's letter announcing this event sages.] The precedence of both sexes, regulated at home, and with strangers ; the latter according to their masters. Jack Somerset takes place of Dick Devonshire.

is indorsed by Swift, « Received December 15th, (1732,) but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune.» The death of Arbuthnot followed in 1734-5. Swift thus expresses himself to Pope on the breaches thus made among their friends: «The death of Mr Gay and the doctor have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them; like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from my Lord Bolingbroke.» Lady Masham, the moving spring of Queen Anne's last administration, and Swift's firm friend, died about the same period, and the Earl of Peterborough followed, in the year 1735. Bolingbroke and Pope remained; but the former, seeing all his political hopes blighted, retired in disgust to France in 1734, and ill health on both sides gradually slackened Swift's intercourse with the Bard of Twickenham. But it is a false and malicious insinuation of the notorious Mrs Pilkington, that there was any relaxation in the mutual regard of the illustrious friends; Lord Orrery, who had the best access to know, has given testimony, and produced proof, that their friendship remained sincere and perfect on both sides till closed by death. On the presentation copy of the *Dunciad*, with which she pretends the Dean was

but little pleased, Swift has written *Auctoris Amicissimi Donum*,—an expression of superlative warmth.

The Dean's health was now gradually giving way under the pressure of age, and his recurring fits of deafness and giddiness. His judgment and powers of thought continued indeed clear during the intervals of his disorder; but his memory became imperfect, and his temper, always irritable, was now subject to violent and frantic fits of passion upon slight provocation. These inroads upon his faculties were precursors of the final disorder whose approach he had long dreaded. So early as 1717,¹ we are informed by Dr Young, that, while walking with Swift about a mile out of Dublin, the Dean stopped short. "We passed on," says the author of the *Night Thoughts*, "but

¹ The date is assigned from Dr Johnson's (or Mr Croft's) probable conjecture, that Dr Young accompanied his witty and profligate patron, the Duke of Wharton, to Ireland in that year. When Wharton related some of his mischievous pranks to the Dean (who really esteemed his talents), he made this remarkable answer, "Take a frolic to be virtuous, my lord; it will give you more pleasure than any you have yet tried." Delany has somewhat injured this anecdote, by substituting the word *honour* for *pleasure*. Swift has ridiculed Young's bombast in his simile upon that poet and Philips. But in the *Verses on Young's Satire*, and in the *Rhapsody on Poetry*, he seems rather to censure Young's politics than his talents.

perceiving he did not follow us, I went back and found him fixed as a statue, and earnestly gazing upward at a noble elm, which, in its uppermost branches, was much withered and decayed. Pointing at it, he said, 'I shall be like that tree, I shall die at the top.' Orrery also informs us, that when the Dean, in conversation, dwelt upon the period of mental imbecility which closed the lives of Somers, Marlborough, and other distinguished contemporaries, it was never without a deep and anxious presage of his own fate. To the same feeling of internal decay may be traced his answer to a friend who mentioned some one as a fine old gentleman: «What!» said the Dean with violence, «have you yet to learn that there is no such thing as a fine old gentleman? If the man you speak of had either a mind or body worth a farthing, they would have worn him out long ago.»¹

It would be vain to inquire, whether this awful foreboding, becoming more terrible as its accomplishment approached nearer, influenced Swift in the disposal of his fortune; whether he took the hint of establishing a

¹ At one time he requested Mrs Whiteway to mention to him any decay which she might observe in his faculties:—«No, Sir,» she replied, »I have read Gil Blas.» A similar story is recorded by Mr Sheridan of his father, who (less prudent) complied with the request, and extorted from the Dean the question, «Whether he had ever read Gil Blas?»

Lunatic Asylum from a letter of Sir William Fownes upon that subject; ¹ or whether, as he himself alleges,

He gave the little wealth he had,
To build a house for fools or mad,
To show, by one satiric touch,
No nation wanted it so much. ²

Such, however, was the resolution he formed, and it was his first intention to endow his proposed hospital with land to the extent of three hundred pounds per annum; but after in vain endeavouring to make such a purchase, and even advertising for that purpose, ³ he at length suffered his fortune to remain upon the various mortgages in which it was vested, and left to his executors the trouble of collecting and investing it in land. Nor was he less anxious about the site of his intended hospital. In 1734-5, he presented a memorial to the corporation of Dublin, praying that a piece of ground on Oxmantown-green might be assigned for this purpose, which request was immediately complied with. ⁴ In 1737, a mort-

¹ Dated, 9th September, 1732. It is a proposal for building a Receptacle for Lunatics.

² Verses on his own death.

³ See this advertisement, and his correspondence with Mr Gerrard.

⁴ No. IV. Extracts from the London and Dublin Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer. London

main act was in agitation, for preventing settlement of landed property upon the church, or upon public charities. The Dean presented a petition to the House of Lords to be excepted from this bill, in case it should pass into a law. The petition stated, that he had long since bequeathed his fortune to charitable uses for the benefit of the kingdom; and if the exception which he prayed for should not be granted, he

printed, and Dublin reprinted for George Faulkner, for the year 1735.

N. B. This was a piratical re-impression, or Dublin edition, of the London Magazine.

January 21, 1734-5.—On Friday last, the following memorial was presented at the quarterly assembly of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council.

“To the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, etc. the memorial of the Dean of St Patrick’s,

“Showeth,—That the said Dean having, by his last will and testament, settled his whole fortune to erect and endow an hospital, in or near this city, for the support of idiots and lunatics, and being advised that a plot of ground in Oxmantown-green would be a convenient place whereon to erect the said Hospital, he therefore humbly desires, that your Lordship, and this honourable board, will please to grant him such a plot of ground on the said green, and for the said use, upon such terms as your Lordship and Worships shall think fit.”

“The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, were pleased to order a committee to inspect the said green, for the most convenient plot of ground whereon to erect the said hospital.”

March, 1735.

would be under the necessity of remitting it abroad for the same pious and worthy purposes. The *mortmain* bill did not pass into a law, and the exception became unnecessary. From the repeated statement in these proceedings, that the Dean had long since settled his estate for the benefit of the intended foundation, it appears that his existing will, dated 3d May, 1740, was not the first destination of his property. The funds which finally devolved upon the hospital amounted to above ten thousand pounds, which was the sum of Swift's savings in the course of about thirty years.

The internal regulation of Swift's family had for some years been under the management of his kind and affectionate relation Mrs White-way.¹ She was the daughter of Adam Swift, the Dean's uncle, and was the only relation to whom he ever showed any attachment; a distinction which she has been thought to owe to

¹ Hawkesworth erroneously, or injuriously, represented Mrs Whiteway as the Dean's housekeeper. Nothing could be more incorrect. She was a lady of talents, fashion, and independent fortune, from whom the late Mr Theophilus Swift inherited a considerable estate in the county of Limerick. Mrs Whiteway was twice married. Her first husband was the Rev. Theophilus Harrison, Dean of Clenmacnoise. A daughter of this marriage married Mr Deane Swift, and was the mother of my late obliging correspondent, to whom the reader, as well as the editor, is so much indebted.

her not bearing the family name. It was a littleness in the mind of Swift, that the recollection of the parsimonious education he had received from his uncle Godwin mixed in almost every reflection which he turned towards his relatives. In his correspondence, he repeatedly declares his dislike to his own family, although he sometimes makes a cold exception in favour of Mr Deane Swift,¹ the grandson of his uncle Godwin, and representative, though by that unpleasant link, of his favourite ancestor, Thomas, the loyal vicar of Goodrich. Even to this young gentleman the Dean extended no share of effectual patronage; and the only influence which his relationship produced upon his kinsman's fortunes was of an unfavourable nature. Mr Deane Swift, however, paid the cold and reluctant courtesy of his illustrious relative with the warmest attachment, and vindicated his memory, after death, from the charges of Lord Orrery. Yet how little he owed to his patronage, will appear from the following remarkable anecdote. Sir Robert Walpole offered Mr Deane Swift preferment in the church, if he chose to take

¹ By a singular coincidence, this gentleman bore both the family name of the author and the clerical title by which he was universally distinguished. But he derived his Christian name of Deane from his grandmother, Miss Deane, daughter and heiress of Admiral Deane, who served the Parliament with eclat during the civil wars.

orders. Mr Deane Swift was then considerably indebted to his distinguished kinsman; and, influenced also by his habits of attachment and respect, consulted him on the flattering proposal thus made to him. The Dean, indignant at the idea of his kinsman receiving any favour from Walpole, insisted on his rejecting the minister's proposal, but never took measures to compensate him for the injury which his fortunes thus sustained.¹ To account for this

¹ It is proper to give this remarkable anecdote in the words of the late son and representative of Mr Deane Swift.—« My father, having an easy fortune, had taken to no profession. He was an excellent scholar, but a very bad writer. No man of his day understood the Greek languages better; and he was familiar with all the oriental. He was a very moral man; and, from an innate love of religion, had made divinity his immediate study. He had taken a degree of A. M. at Oxford, and was in every respect qualified for an excellent divine. Walpole knew him, and one day sent for him. He went; and Walpole asked him, whether it was his intention to take orders? My father was then about twenty-seven years of age. He answered, he had no such design. Walpole then desired that he would think of it, and that he would provide for him in the church; and even went so far as to tell him, that, at a proper time, he would make him a bishop. Swift very soon heard of what had passed, and sent for my father, whom he asked concerning the truth of the fact. Swift soon perceived that Walpole designed to prefer his relation over his head; and that while the Dean could not make *himself* a bishop, no impediment stood in the way of people who bore his name. Swift remonstrated very strongly with my father, who did not choose to give up the prospects

extreme and unjust violence, it is proper to remember, that the Dean was now in a state of infirmity, when passion and prejudice had begun to obscure the fine sense and judgment

held out to him. But Swift was *absolute* on all occasions. Whatever he said or willed must be obeyed. Beside the respect that my father had for him, which approached almost to idolatry, he owed him 2500l. an immense sum in those days; his estates were mortgaged for it to the Dean. The Dean did not absolutely promise a remission of the debt, but signified in very indignant terms, that if he did not relinquish orders, he would always find him his enemy; but if he would give up the idea of orders, he (the Dean) would always be his friend, and would *provide for him in the state*. My father yielded; was not made a bishop; was not provided for by Swift, but put upon the shelf; left his son (myself) to pay the mortgage, with a long arrear of interest upon it; and all that my father received from him, to the value of a single farthing, as a favour, was that which may be read in the Dean's will. My father loved the Dean to an excess almost unparalleled; but I have often heard him say, that the Dean was the only enemy that, to his knowledge, he ever had in his life, with the exception of Delany. I know not whether I have clearly expressed myself about Walpole and my father; but I would sum it up with saying, that there was no particular friendship between Walpole and Mr Deane Swift, and that their politics differed *toto cælo*. The motive of the minister was not to serve my father, but to mortify the Dean; the Dean knew it, and sacrificed my father to his spleen. This is the truth of the matter. But my father would have done honour to Walpole's choice."

The ingenious editor of the Swiftiana mentions, that as Swift disliked his relations, on account, as he alleged

which they at length altogether eclipsed. But to Mrs Whiteway Swift was uniformly kind, and repaid with esteem and gratitude the assiduity with which she watched over his family affairs, his charities, and the management of his household, which must otherwise have been abandoned to menials and interested persons.

The acquaintance of the Earl of Orrery, who endeavoured, by his assiduous attention, to recommend himself to Swift during the latter part of his life, was less disinterested. The character of that noble author is now pretty generally understood. Proud, cold, and unamiable, in private life, he could stoop, where it was necessary for the purpose of attaining the character which he chiefly affected, that of a man of genius; and Berkeley happily remarked, that his lordship would have been such, had he known how to set about it. As a scaffolding for his ambitious desire of literary distinction, Lord Orrery rested much upon his interest with the Dean. He courted him by encomiastic verses, but without the fancy and power of Delany; and, contrary to the bent of his nature, even veiled his dignity so far as to

of their degeneracy from the loyal faith of the vicar of Goodrich, so they detested him, and distinguished him by the nickname of *Top of Kin*. Many of them had become rich, and were probably mortified by his avowed neglect of their claim to his notice as kinsmen.

imitate the facetious trifles of Sheridan, without possessing either his humour or facility.¹ But these sacrifices were not without their object; and, in his celebrated Remarks upon Swift's Life and Writings, the noble author seems to have sought indemnification for the homage he had constrained himself to pay to Swift while alive, and for the coldness with which his court had, it is said, been in some instances received.² The work unquestionably displays some talent, and preserves much of

¹ See his Lordship's heavy attempt at literary frolic in the shape of a letter written backwards. In truth, Lord Orrery, though he affected the character of the friend of Swift, had no conception of humour. He sneers, with contemptuous gravity, at the Directions to Servants, and treats as "sour small-beer" the Dean's light effusions of fancy and frolic; but he expects his son to be extravagantly delighted with the account of Wood's procession, in which various persons express their resentment in the terms of their calling; as the cook, who threatens to *baste* him,—the tailor, to *sit in his skirts*, etc.

² The real cause of Lord Orrery's treatment of Swift originated in a letter that had been found unopened by Swift's executors among his papers. The letter was indorsed, "This will keep cold." Lord Orrery had also learned, that when he sent the paper-book to Swift on his birth-day, the Dean, on reading the words "Dear Swift," in the first line, exclaimed with great indignance at his familiarity,—"Dear Swift? Dear Swift? Boy! Boy! Pshaw! Pshaw! What does the boy mean? *Friend! Friend! Sincere Friend?* Fool! Boy!"—Mrs Whiteway, being present when these expressions were used, remarked that Lord Orrery's servant, who waited in the hall,

Swift that might not otherwise have been known. But the severity with which the Dean's failings were censured and recorded, is not only inconsistent with the friendship and deference which Orrery affected during his life, but, in many cases, deviates into inaccuracy¹ and exaggeration, and exceeds even the privilege of attack which might have been permitted to a professed but liberal enemy. It is some apology, though but a poor one, for the dark shades with which Orrery drew the character of his departed friend, that he had never known Swift until the decline of life, marked, as it was, by the loss of those friends who rendered life supportable to him,—by the increase of infirmities and irritability,—and by the gradual declension of the powers of intellect.

A more sincere and disinterested friend of the Dean was the good-natured, light-hearted, and ingenious Sheridan. But of his society the Dean was in a great measure deprived. He had resigned his residence in Dublin about 1734, and retired to the free school at Cavan with a

might easily hear them. They were probably reported; and the slight which they indicated was not erased by the handsome letter which the Dean wrote to his lordship on the occasion.

¹ Lord Orrery first broached the figment that Swift might be the natural son of Sir William Temple, which was morally impossible.

diminished income, but unbroken gaiety of heart and spirits. Mr Sheridan has recorded an affecting circumstance, which happened while his father was on the point of removal. The Dean « happened to call in just at the time that the workmen were taking down the pictures and other furniture in the parlour; that parlour where for such a number of years he had passed so many happy hours. Struck with the sight, he burst into tears, and rushed into a dark closet, where he continued a quarter of an hour before he could compose himself. When it is considered that he was at that time verging on seventy, an age in which the heart generally is callous, and almost dead to the fine affections, there cannot be a stronger confutation of the charge made against him of his want of feeling; as I believe the instances are very rare of persons at that time of life capable of being so much moved by such an incident.»¹

The Dean in the following year visited his friend in his new residence. The amusement of riddles and Anglo-latin verses was renewed, but the charm was lost. Mr Sheridan describes Swift as having become moody, and prone to violent fits of passion, receiving with scorn the attentions offered him by the burgesses of Cavan, who came out in a body to meet him, and repaying them reluctantly with a niggard

¹ Sheridan's Life of Swift.

and sparing entertainment at the inn. Other instances occurred, at this unhappy period of his life, intimating the irritability of a temper which could no longer bear the slightest resort, even when seasoned by the wit which he used so much to admire. After two years residence at Cavan, Dr Sheridan, with disappointed hopes and an impaired fortune, sold his school and returned to Dublin. He resided for a short time at the deanery; but Swift was incapable either of giving or receiving consolation, or even of respecting the feelings of the attached friend of so many years. It is painful to record that they parted on bad terms, and that Sheridan died soon afterwards, without any reconciliation having taken place.¹

The Dean's solitary and unhappy situation was such as now exposed him to imposition, and even to insult. One Francis Wilson, a prebendary of his cathedral, who resided in the deanery, and had been named by Swift one of his executors, formed, it is said, a plan of availing himself of the weakness of the Dean's intellects, to get himself appointed sub-dean

¹ Mr Sheridan blames Mrs Whiteway as having inflamed the quarrel. Mr Theophilus Swift has denied this charge, and produced more than one anecdote to show that Mrs Whiteway, on the contrary, acted as a mediator between the Dean and Dr Sheridan, which the tone of their correspondence seems also to indicate. There is no occasion for entering minutely into the controversy.

of St Patrick's, and, after in vain attempting to intoxicate him, had recourse to measures of intimidation and personal violence. Wilson attempted to vindicate himself by an affidavit, in which he ascribes the disgraceful struggle, which certainly took place, to a fit of frenzy on the Dean's part. But his account was not credited, more especially as he was supposed to have been guilty of acts of peculation while he was a guest at the deanery.¹ He was forbidden to return there, and died soon afterwards.

Mrs Whiteway was Swift's chief guardian against such selfish and dangerous guests as this man. An altercation once took place between them, concerning some of those visitors, whom she knew to be worthless and low-minded, and observed to be gaining influence over the Dean. The dispute growing high, Mrs Whiteway rose from her seat, and, dropping an angry curtsey, said, «I'll leave you, sir, to your flatterers and sycophants;» and then left the house in anger, resolving not to return. For two days she kept her resolution; and in that time had more than a dozen visitors at her door, who inquired with great concern for her health, after the unhappy circumstance that had befallen her. The fact was, the Dean

¹ The servants at the deanery told Mrs Whiteway, that they observed Wilson usually brought with him an empty portmanteau, and carried it away filled with books.

had gone round to his friends, and with a serious face deplored the misfortune that he himself had witnessed, that Mrs Whiteway had suddenly been seized with a fit of madness, and had been taken home in a most distracted state of mind. When he thought the deception had sufficiently worked, he called, and, making her a silent bow, sat down. Mr Deane Swift was in the room; being at that time on a visit at Mrs Whiteway's. The Dean conversed with him for about ten minutes, without interchanging a word or a look with Mrs Whiteway. He then got up, looked kindly at Mrs Whiteway, and turning to Mr Swift, "*Half* this visit was to you, sir." In uttering the word *half*, he glanced his eye at Mrs Whiteway, bowed to them both, and withdrew. Their cordiality was instantly renewed.

The last scene was now rapidly approaching, and the stage darkened ere the curtain fell. From 1736, downward, the Dean's fits of periodical giddiness and deafness had returned with violence; he could neither enjoy conversation, nor amuse himself with writing; and an obstinate resolution which he had formed not to wear glasses, prevented him from reading. The following dismal letter to Mrs Whiteway, in 1740, is almost the last document which we possess of the celebrated Swift, as a rational and reflecting being. It

awfully foretells the catastrophe which shortly after took place.

« I have been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, that I am not in torture; but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is, and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be.

I am, for those few days,

Yours entirely,

J. SWIFT.

If I do not blunder, it is Saturday,

July 26, 1740.»

His understanding having totally failed soon after these melancholy expressions of grief and affection, his first state was that of violent and furious lunacy. His estate was put under the management of trustees, and his person confided to the care of Dr Lyons, a respectable clergyman, curate to the Rev. Robert King, Prebendary of Dunlavin, one of Swift's executors. This gentleman discharged his melancholy task with great fidelity, being much and gratefully attached to the object of

his care.¹ From a state of outrageous frenzy,

¹ The most minute account of this melancholy period is given by Dr Delany. "In the beginning of the year 1741, his understanding was so much impaired, and his passions so greatly increased, that he was utterly incapable of conversation. Strangers were not permitted to approach him, and his friends found it necessary to have guardians appointed of his person and estate. Early in the year 1742, his reason was wholly subverted, and his rage became absolute madness. The last person whom he knew was Mrs Whiteway;¹ and the sight of her, when he knew her no longer, threw him into fits of rage so violent and dreadful, that she was forced to leave him; and the only act of kindness that remained in her power, was to call once or twice a week at the deanery, inquire after his health, and see that proper care was taken of him. Sometimes she would steal a look at him when his back was towards her, but did not dare to venture into his sight. He would neither eat nor drink while the servants who brought him his provisions staid in the room. His meat which was served up ready cut, he would sometimes suffer to stand an hour upon the table before he would touch it; and at last he would eat it walking; for, during this miserable state of his mind, it was his constant custom to walk ten hours a day.

"In October, 1742, after this frenzy had continued several months, his left eye swelled to the size of an egg, and the lid appeared to be so much inflamed and discoloured, that the surgeon expected it would mortify; several large boils also broke out on his arms and his body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month, and during one week it was with difficulty that five persons kept him, by mere force, from tearing out his eyes. Just before the tumour perfectly subsided, and

¹ His first cousin. See a letter dated Nov. 8, 1735.

aggravated by severe bodily suffering, the pain left him, he knew Mrs Whiteway, took her by the hand, and spoke to her with his former kindness : that day, and the following, he knew his physician and surgeon, and all his family, and appeared to have so far recovered his understanding and temper, that the surgeon was not without hopes he might once more enjoy society, and be amused with the company of his old friends. This hope, however, was but of short duration ; for a few days afterwards he sunk into a state of total insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk across the room. This was the effect of another bodily disease, his brain being loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of his chapter, pronounced this to be the case during his illness, and upon opening his head it appeared that he was not mistaken ; but, though he often entreated the Dean's friends and physicians that his scull might be trepanned and the water discharged, no regard was paid to his opinion or advice.

« After the Dean had continued silent a whole year in this helpless state of idiocy, his housekeeper went into his room on the 30th of November in the morning, telling him that it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual ; to this he immediately replied—'It is all folly, they had better let it alone.'

« He would often attempt to speak his mind, but could not recollect words to express his meaning ; upon which he would shrug up his shoulders, shake his head, and sigh heartily. Among all kinds of smells, none offended him so much as the snuff of a candle. It happened that a young girl, the daughter of his housekeeper's relation, blew out a candle in his chamber ; at which he knit his brows, looked angry, and said, 'You are a little dirty slut !' He spoke no more of it ; but seemed displeased with her the whole evening.

illustrious Dean of St Patrick's sunk into the situation of a helpless changeling.¹ In the

« Some other instances of short intervals of sensibility and reason, after his madness had ended in stupor, seems to prove that his disorder, whatever it was, had not destroyed, but only suspended the powers of his mind.

« He was sometimes visited by Mr Deane Swift, a relation, and about Christmas, 1743, he seemed desirous to speak to him. Mr Swift then told him he came to dine with him; and Mrs Ridgeway, the housekeeper, immediately said, 'Won't you give Mr Swift a glass of wine, sir?' To this he made no answer, but showed he understood the question, by shrugging up his shoulders, as he had been used to do, when he had a mind a friend should spend the evening with him, and which was as much as to say 'you will ruin me in wine.' Soon after he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words; but at last, after many efforts, not being able, he fetched a deep sigh, and was afterwards silent. A few months after this, upon his housekeeper's removing a knife, as he was going to catch at it, he shrugged up his shoulders, and said, 'I am what I am;' and, in about six minutes, repeated the same words two or three times.

« In the year 1744, he now and then called his servant by his name, and once attempted to speak to him, but not being able to express his meaning, he showed signs of much uneasiness, and at last said, 'I am a fool.' Once afterwards, as his servant was taking away his watch, he said, 'Bring it here;' and when the same servant was breaking a hard large coal, he said, 'That is a stone, you blockhead.'

« From this time he was perfectly silent, till the latter end of October 1745; and then died without the least pang or convulsion, in the seventy-eighth year of his age."

¹ The curiosity of strangers sometimes led them to see

course of about three years, he is only known to have spoken once or twice. At length, when this awful moral lesson had subsisted from 1743, until the 19th October 1745, it pleased God to release the subject of these Memoirs from this calamitous situation. He died upon that day without a single pang, so gently, indeed, that his attendants were scarce aware of the moment of his dissolution.

It was then that the gratitude of the Irish showed itself in the full glow of national enthusiasm. The interval was forgotten, during which their great patriot had been dead to the world; and he was wept and mourned, as if he had been called away in the full career of his public services. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the house, to pay the last tribute of sorrow and affection. Locks of his hair were so eagerly sought after, that Mr Sheridan happily applies to the enthusiasm

this extraordinary man in this state of living death. The father of the late Lord Kinedder, one of the editor's most intimate friends, was of the number. He was told that the servants privately took money for gratifying the curiosity of strangers, but declined to have recourse to that mode of gratifying his curiosity. He saw the Dean by means of a clergyman (Dr Lyons, probably), who was at that time totally unconscious of all that passed around him, a living wreck of humanity.

of the citizens of Dublin, the lines of Shakespeare,

Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And dying mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

SHAKSPEARE.

The remains of Dean Swift were interred, agreeably to his directions, with privacy,¹ in the great aisle of St Patrick's Cathedral, where an inscription, composed by himself, records his exertions for liberty, and his detestation of oppression.

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS

JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.

HUJUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS

DEGANI:

UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO

ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.

ABI, VIATOR,

ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,

STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.

OBIIT ANNO (1745):

MENSIS (OCTOBRIS) DIE (19);

ÆTATIS ANNO (78).

¹ It appears from the following animated expostulation addressed by Mrs Whiteway to one of the executors, that

their purpose was to have interpreted the word privacy so strictly as to infer a sordid and unbecoming obscurity. It would appear that the remonstrances of his friend and relation were attended to. The original paper is amongst those belonging to Mr Swift :—

Mrs WHITEWAY to some one of Dr SWIFT's Executors.
1745.

SIR,

THE indignation which the town have expressed at the manner of burying their patriot, is a proof his memory is dear as his life was once so to them. I am told, and I wish my authority may not be true, that Dr Swift is to be carried out of his backdoor at one in the morning by four porters into the church, attended only by two clergymen, with the circumstance of the respect paid to them of giving each a scarf. I know his desire was to be buried as privately as possible; but, were the same persons to be executors to a duke, and a man who had left but five pounds behind him, would the words be construed in the same literal sense? and I appeal to yourself, whether ever you knew a gentleman, whose corpse was not in danger of being arrested for debt, treated in such a manner—an executed criminal, to whom the law doth not allow christian burial, could only be used thus, by some slight acquaintance. Surely to hang the room Dr Swift lies in with black, to give him an hearse, and a few mourning coaches, would be judged a funeral sufficiently private for so great a man; and that he himself thought decency requisite at a funeral, may be known by what he did for his honest trusty servant, Alexander M'Gee. If this expense be thought too much to be taken from the noble charity he hath bequeathed, I make the offer of doing it, and desire it may be taken out of my legacy, as the last respect I can pay to my great and worthy friend.

If this favour be denied me, I shall let whoever men-

tions this affair in my hearing know the offer I have made.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

MARTHA WHITEWAY.

October 22, 1745, ten in the morning.

CONCLUSION.

Person, Habits, and Private Character of Swift—His Conversation—His Reading—Apparent Inconsistencies in his Character—His Charity—His Talents for Criticism—Character of the Dean as a Poet—As a Prose Author.

SWIFT was in person tall, strong, and well made, of a dark complexion, but with blue eyes, black and bushy eye-brows, nose somewhat aquiline, and features which remarkably expressed the stern, haughty, and dauntless turn of his mind. He was never known to laugh, and his smiles are happily characterized by the well-known lines of Shakspeare. Indeed, the whole description of Cassius might be applied to Swift:

—————He reads much,
He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men.—
Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort,
As if he mock'd himself, and scorn'd his spirit
That could be moved to smile at any thing.

The features of the Dean have been pre-

served in several paintings, busts, and medals.¹ In youth, he was reckoned handsome; Pope

¹ There is an excellent portrait of Dean Swift at the deanery-house, painted by Bindon. A genius appears in the piece displaying a scroll, containing a Latin inscription, partly undecypherable, but which refers to the Dean's exertions in procuring for the church the grant of the first fruits and tenths. At the bottom of the canvass is the following inscription :

EFFIGIEM HUIUS REV. ADMODUM VIRI JONATH.⁹ SWIFT, S. T. P.
ECCLESIE CATH. S. PAT. DUB. DECANI, IN PERPETUUM HARUM
ÆDIUM TOTIUS CLERI ET HUIUSCE PRÆCIPUE GENTIS
DECUS, AMORIS ET OBSERVANTIÆ ERGO PINGI CURAVIT CA-
PITULUM SUUM.

PRÆSENTI TIBI MATUROS LARGIMUR HONORES,
NIL ORITURUM ALIAS, NIL ORTUM TALE FATENTES.

In the back distance, through the window, is seen in perspective the great western door of the cathedral of St Patrick's, leading immediately to that aisle in which the illustrious patriot is interred. The tower, or steeple, is pre-eminently conspicuous, however minute this part of the drawing be. It is to be observed, that at the period the original painting was taken, the spire which now completes that fine Gothic structure had not been erected.

The frame is of black Irish oak, curiously and tastefully carved with a variety of emblematical figures, having at the bottom the arms of the deanery and of Swift quartered in one scutcheon. The unfortunate taste of one of his successors caused this frame to be gilded. This picture should not be mentioned without recording the patriotic disinterestedness of Dean Cradoc, who, when a fire broke out at the deanery-house, commanded those who assisted to leave their exertions to save his own property and books, until they had secured the picture of his renowned predecessor.

observed, that though his face had an expression of dullness, his eyes were very particular. They were as azure, he said, as the heavens, and

Another portrait, supposed to be one of the best likenesses in existence, and also painted by Bindon, is the property of Dr Hill of Dublin. The expression of the features differs in some respects from the picture in the deanery, being rather of a deep and melancholy cast, than of the stern, harsh, and imperative character.

There is a portrait of Dean Swift at Howth Castle. It is a full length, painted by Bindon. He is represented in the clerical costume. To the left of the figure is seen the Temple of Fame in the back ground; on the Dean's right appears the genius of Ireland, extending a laurel-wreath, as about to crown the patriot; in his left hand he holds forth a scroll, on which is written, "The fourth Drapier's Letter." At his feet, on the right of the picture, lies bound the famous patentee *Woods*; he is depicted in agony. On a scroll is written "Woods' patent."

A full-length painting of the Dean, in his clerical habit, is placed in the theatre, or examination-hall, of Trinity College, Dublin. The head and figure, with some variation of attitude, appear to be copied from the oil painting at the deanery-house. He is here represented as standing between two pillars; in the space between, in the back-ground, is given a view of the steeple and spire of St Patrick's.

In the museum of Trinity College, Dublin, there is a dark plaster bust, or cast, of Dean Swift. It is an impression taken from the mask, applied to the face after death. The expression of countenance is most unequivocally maniacal, and one side of the mouth (the left) horribly contorted downwards, as if convulsed by pain. It is engraved for Mr Barrett's Essay.

There is a marble bust of Dean Swift in the possession of Dr Tuke, Stephen's-green, Dublin.

had an unusual expression of acuteness. In old age, the Dean's countenance conveyed an expression which, though severe, was noble and impressive. He spoke in public with facility and impressive energy; and as his talents for ready reply were so well calculated for political debate, it must have increased the mortification of Queen Anne's ministers, that they found themselves unable to secure him a seat on the bench of bishops. The government of Ireland dreaded his eloquence as much as his pen.

His manners in society were, in his better days, free, lively, and engaging, not devoid of peculiarities, but bending them so well to circumstances, that his company was universally courted. When age and infirmity had impaired the elasticity of his spirits and the equality of his temper, his conversation was still valued, not only on account of the extended and various acquaintance with life and manners, of which it displayed an inexhaustible fund, but also for the shrewd and satirical humour which seasoned his observations and anecdotes. This, according to Orrery, was the last of his powers which decayed; but the Dean himself was sensible that, as his memory failed, his stories were too often repeated. His powers of conversation and of humorous repartee were in his time regarded as unrivalled; but, like most who have as-

sumed a despotic sway in conversation, he was sometimes silenced by unexpected resistance.¹ He was very fond of puns. Perhaps the application of the line of Virgil to the lady who threw down with her mantua a Cremona fiddle, is the best ever was made:—

Mantua, vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!

The comfort which he gave an elderly gentleman who had lost his spectacles, was more grotesque. « If this rain continues all night, you will certainly recover them in the morning betimes:

Nocte pluit tota—redeunt spectacula mane.

His pre-eminence in more legitimate wit is asserted by many anecdotes. A man of dis-

² At an inn, seeing the cook-maid scraping a piece of mutton, he asked how many maggots she had got out of it? « Not so many as are in your head,” answered the wench, smartly. The Dean was angry, and complained to her mistress. On another occasion, he was silenced by a worthy citizen, Alderman Brown, who, having undergone his raillery in silence during the time of dinner, all of a sudden raised his head from the plate, on observing Swift take apple-sauce to the wing of a duck, and exclaimed, « Mr Dean, you eat your duck like a goose.” At another time, he asked Kenny, a Carmelite priest, whom he met at Mrs Whiteway’s, « Why the Catholic church used pictures and images, when the church of England did not?”—« Because,” answered the priest readily, « we are old housekeepers, and you are new-begin-

inction not remarkable for regularity in his private concerns, chose for his motto, *Eques haud male notus*. «Better known than trusted» was the Dean's translation, when some one related the circumstance.

Swift had an odd humour of making extempore proverbs. Observing that a gentleman, in whose garden he walked with some friends, seemed to have no intention to request them to eat any of the fruit, Swift observed «It was a saying of his dear grandmother,

Always pull a peach
When it is within your reach;»

and, helping himself accordingly, his example was followed by the whole company. At another time, he framed an «old saying and true» for the benefit of a person who had fallen from his horse into the mire:—

The more dirt,
The less hurt.

The man rose much consoled; but, as he was a collector of proverbs himself, he wondered he had never before heard that used by the Dean upon the occasion. He threw some

ners.» Swift was so surprised and incensed that he left the room, and would not stay dinner, though he had come to Mrs Whiteway's with that intention. But these instances of irritability occurred during the latter years of his life, when he could not endure contradiction.

useful rules into rhyming adages;¹ and indeed, as his *Journal to Stella* proves, had a facility in putting rhymes together on any trifling occasion, which must have added considerably to the flow and facility of his poetical compositions.

In his personal habits he was cleanly, even to scrupulousness. At one period of his life he was said to lie in bed till eleven o'clock, and think of wit for the day;² but latterly he was an early riser. Swift was fond of exercise, and particularly of walking. And although modern pedestrians may smile at his proposing a journey to Chester, by walking ten miles a day; yet he is said to have taken this exercise too violently, and to a degree prejudicial to his health. He was also a tolerable horseman, fond of riding, and a judge of the noble animal, which he chose to celebrate, as the emblem of moral merit, under the name of *Houyhnhnm*. Exercise he pressed on his friends, particularly upon Stella and

¹ Sheridan quotes two of them. One of them was a direction to those who ride together through the water:

When through the water you do ride,
Keep very close, or very wide.

Another related to the decanting of wine:

First rack slow, and then rack quick,
Then rack slow till you come to the thick.

² Spence's *Anecdotes*, Singer's Edit. p. 66.

Vanessa, as a sort of duty; and scarce any of his letters conclude without allusion to it; especially as relating to the preservation of his own health, which his constitutional fits of deafness and giddiness rendered very precarious. His habit of body in other respects appears to have been indifferent, with a tendency to scrofula, which, perhaps, hastened his mental disorder.¹ But the immediate cause was the pressure of water upon the head, as appeared from the dissection after death.²

¹ During his residence at Cavan, he was tormented with an ulcerous shin, often mentioned in his letters; and in his journal there is a minute, and rather disgusting account of an eruption upon his shoulder. He sent for a surgeon belonging to the barracks, when at Cavan, to dress his wound. The young man entered with fear and trembling, for all men stood in awe of the Dean. "Look ye, sir," said Swift, raising his leg from the stool on which it was extended, "my shin is very badly hurt; I have sent for you, and if you can cure it, by ——— I'll advertise you. Here's five guineas for you, and you need look for no more; so cure me as fast as you can." The young man succeeded; and the Dean, who liked both his skill and his modesty, was kind to him, often asked him to dinner, and, when the cure was completed, made him a compliment of five guineas more. In a letter to Mrs Whiteway, he says the shin cost him but three guineas; the rest he probably set down to benevolence.

² Dr King says, that about three years before his final decay, he observed he was affected by the wine which he drank after dinner, and that next day, on his com-

Of his learning we have already spoken: it seems to have been both extensive and useful, but not profoundly scholastic. Of modern languages, he spoke and wrote French with facility, and understood Italian. His Latin verses indicate an imperfect knowledge of prosody, and no great command of the language in which they are written. The poem called *Rupes Carberiaë*, has, in particular, been severely criticized. It is seldom that Swift alludes to English literature; yet it is evident that he had perused with attention those classics to which his name is now added. How carefully he had read Milton appears from his annotations on the *Paradise Lost*, for the benefit of Stella. Chaucer appears also to have been his favourite, for I observe among his papers a memorandum of the oaths used in the *Canterbury Tales*, classed with the personages by whom they are used. It appears from a note upon Mr Todd's edition of Milton, that Swift was a peruser of the ancient ro-

plaining of his health, he took the liberty to tell him he was afraid he had drank too much wine. He was startled, and replied, that he always looked on himself as a very temperate man, and never exceeded the quantity his physician prescribed. "Now his physician," continues King, "never drank less than two bottles of claret after dinner." But it must be remembered that King himself was a strict water-drinker.—*King's Anecdotes of his Own Times*, p. 16.

mances of chivalry.¹ But he never mentions the romances and plays of the period in which he lived, without expressing the most emphatic contempt. To the drama, particularly, he was so indifferent, that he never once alludes to the writings of Shakspeare, nor, wonderful to be told, does he appear to have possessed a copy of his works. After noticing this, it will be scarce held remarkable, that the catalogue of his library only contains the works of three dramatic authors, Ben Jonson, Wycherley, and Rowe, the two last being presentation copies from the authors, in 1700 and 1702. History and classical authors formed the Dean's favourite studies, and, during the decay of his faculties, his reading was almost entirely confined to Clarendon.

Swift loved the country, like most men of genius, but rather practised rural occupations than rural sports. At Quilca, Gaulstown, and Market-Hill, he delighted in acting as a sort of overseer or bailiff to those employed in im-

¹ Open fly

The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder."

Mr Todd, on Mr Walker's authority, quotes a note of Swift on this passage, from *Don Belianis*, part ii. ch. 19. "*Open flew the brazen folding doors, grating harsh thunder on their turning hinges.*" This remark does not appear in the editor's copy of Swift's notes on Milton, mentioned in page 60, nota, neither do the words occur in the stall-copy of *Don Belianis*.

proving the property of his friends, and he dwells fondly in his journal on his plantations and canal at Laracor.

It does not appear from any part of his works, unless, perhaps, the Latin verses on the rocks of Carbery,¹ that he was an admirer of the beautiful or romantic in landscape; but he was a curious, though not a scientific, observer of any singular natural phenomena which came under his attention.²

The humour of stubborn independence, which influenced the Dean's whole character, stamps it at first examination with a whole chain of paradoxes. A devout believer in the truths of Christianity, a constant observer of the rules of religion, and zealous even to slay-

¹ He lay down on his breast to view the precipice, and became so giddy (owing probably to his constitutional vertigo) that he durst not rise; and his two servants were forced to drag him back by the heels to some distance from the brink.

² The following meteorological observations are copied from the Dean's Bible, which bears his name, "Jonathan Swift," and the date, "Feb. 14, 1697." "Maii die 3tio, 1698, nix multa decidit, ab hora vesper: 6ta ad 9m fere cedens, ac non solum nocte, verum etiam ad crastini diei partem meridianam, conferta humi jacuit, arboribusque spississime inhærebat: hoc vidi prope vicum dict. Farnham in comitatu de Surrey.

"Jan. 27, 1698-9.

"Mense Martio, A. D. 1698-9, sævit pestis inter equos, non solum per insulas Britannicas, sed fere omnino Europam grassata."

ing in the cause of the Church of England, Swift assumed an occasional levity of writing, speaking, and acting, which caused his being branded as an infidel, a contemner of public ordinances, and a scoffer of church-discipline.¹ Nor was this all. A zealous friend of liberty in temporal politics, he acted during his whole life with the Tory party,—disliking Ireland² even to virulent prejudice, he was the first and most effectual vindicator of her rights and liberties; and, charitable and benevolent to the extreme limits of a moderate revenue, he lay under the reproach of avarice and parsimony. An admirer of paradoxes, like Dr Fuller, might have found points in his history as well as opinions, capable of being

¹ “I hate Lent,” he says, in his Journal to Stella, “I hate furmity and sour faces.” Many stories were, however, imputed to him without any ground.

² The Dean disliked Ireland as a residence, not in itself, or with reference to the natural qualities of its inhabitants, but on account of its being subjected to a sort of subaltern oppression, equally degrading to the characters of those who inflicted and those who endured it. I have, therefore, rejected from this edition a lampoon entitled, “Some account of the Irish, by the late J. S. D. D. D. S. P. 8vo. London, 1753.” This libel, which charges the Irish with all sorts of vices, and even with cowardice, has some wit; but it is the wit of Ward, or Tom Brown, rather than of Jonathan Swift, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of St Patrick’s, whose name and titles are intimated by the initials on the title-page.

placed in strong contrast. The first writer of his age was disgraced at college; the principal supporter of Queen Anne's last administration, whose interest had made many a prelate, was himself unable to attain that dignity; and he who in his writings exhibited a tone of the most bitter misanthropy, was in active life a steady patriot, a warm friend, and a bountiful patron. He had also this remarkable fate as a political writer, that although his publishers were in four instances subjected to arrest and examination,—although large rewards were twice offered for discovery of the author of works generally and truly ascribed to him,—yet he never personally felt the grasp of power;

For not a Judas could be found
To sell him for three hundred pound.*

Many of these apparent paradoxes arose from Swift's stern and unbending pride of temper, which rather contemned and avoided public applause, than studied to present his character under favourable colours to the general eye. Even his politeness assumed often a singular turn of cynicism, and much

* In allusion to this circumstance, he once said, he was three times near being hanged, and that people supposed he could bring in the Pretender in his hand, and place on him the crown.

of his conduct in life reminds us of his favourite style of composition, that IRONY

Which he was born to introduce,
Refined it first, and showed its use.

From the same cause he often exhibited, in his first address a sternness and bluntness of demeanour, which, detached from the mode in which he well knew how to repair the pain he had given, was harsh to his inferiors, and uncivil to those of higher rank. An anecdote which, though told by Mrs Pilkington, is well attested, bears, that the last time he was in London he went to dine with the Earl of Burlington, who was then but newly married. The earl being willing, it is supposed, to have some diversion, did not introduce him to his lady, nor mention his name. After dinner, said the Dean, «Lady Burlington, I hear you can sing; sing me a song.» The lady looked on this unceremonious manner of asking a favour with distaste, and positively refused. He said, «She should sing, or he would make her. Why, madam, I suppose you take me for one of your poor English hedge-parsons; sing when I bid you.» As the earl did nothing but laugh at this freedom, the lady was so vexed, that she burst into tears, and retired. His first compliment to her when he saw her again was, «Pray, madam, are you as proud and as ill-natured now as when I saw

you last?" To which she answered with great humour, "No, Mr Dean; I'll sing for you if you please." From which time he conceived great esteem for her. The Dean received with complaisance such praise as was delicately administered; but it belonged to his character to repel whatever was extravagant or coarse. When a friend professed to love Swift better than all his friends and relations, he said, "The man is a fool." And when Pope talked to him of a lady who admired him above all things, he replied, "Then I despise her heartily."¹ In fact, he seems rather to have expected his friends to gratify him by implicit compliance with his humour, however whimsical, than by any verbal flattery, disguising perhaps from himself, that such servile compliance was the grossest sort of practical adulation.

Much attached to his own profession, he had a strong prejudice against the military.²

¹ Singer's Spence's Anecdotes, p. 256.

² His imaginary captain of dragoons, in the poem on Hamilton's Bawn, holds precisely the same language with the real soldier commemorated in the Essay on Modern Education: "D—n me, doctor, say what you will, the army is the only school for gentlemen. Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin? D—n me, a scholar when he comes into good company, what is he but an ass? D—n me, I would be glad, by G—d, to see any of your scholars, with his nouns and his verbs, and his philosophy and trigonometry,

and the law. Yet it is probable he would have been a brave and distinguished soldier, and certain that he must have risen high at the bar, to which his talents were peculiarly adapted. His dislike to soldiers was probably heightened by his indifferent opinion of Marlborough, and other general officers, who were zealous against the peace of Utrecht; and the disinclination of courts of law to countenance the tithe of agistment seems greatly to have aggravated his dislike to that profession.¹

what a figure he would make at a siege, or blockade, or rencountering—D—n me,” etc. Yet there were times when the Dean envied the military prerogative of using personal castigation. Seeing a drayman abusing his overloaded horse, he attacked the fellow with his whip, and gave him several blows, exclaiming at each stroke, “O that I were a captain of horse!” On another occasion, he tells a squire with whom he had a violent dispute, “he heartily wished, to make him show his humility, his quarrel had rather been with a captain of dragoons than with the Dean of St Patrick’s.” Perhaps the Dean on both occasions recollected King William’s proposal to promote him in the army.

¹ In 1733, when Swift executed the revision of Gulliver’s Travels, mentioned p. 37, vol. II, he made the most bitter additions to the passages affecting the law and its professors. About the same time, he indulged his humour with a most extraordinary mock trial, in ridicule of the assizes then about to be held in the county of Meath. The scene was Ardsalla, the house of Mr Ludlow, where the Jacksons, Grattans, Mr Stopford, and other favourites of the Dean, were assembled. Sheridan, it seems,

The Dean's temper, while he was its master, was strictly economical, but the reverse had been guilty of a petty delinquency in his chamber. The rest shall be abridged from the narrative of Mr Theophilus Swift. « A tribunal is erected, and all things prepared in due and regular form. A plain kitchen table is turned with its top downwards, and into this dock Sheridan is put wigless and bare-headed; while Swift himself mounts the seat of justice, with his own wig frizzed, and bushed into a full bottom, and set inverted on his head. A servant maid's scarlet cloak is flung over his shoulders, to represent the robes of a judge, and Aaron's band is converted into that of a chief justice. The grand jury are sworn, and the bill found; the petty jury sworn in their turn, and the prisoner put on his trial. The crier commands silence, and the lawyers are ranged. The utmost gravity and decorum prevail; and the only smile that passed on the occasion, arose from the ludicrous circumstance of Mr Stopford, who, being fee'd for the crown, declared he could not do his duty as a true lawyer, unless he should be fee'd on both sides. A second fee, therefore, is given him in open court, on behalf of the prisoner; and he told my mother he actually received by the double fee, eighteen shillings. He is said to have conducted himself with wonderful humour and address through the whole of the trial. The Jacksons and Grattans had likewise their respective stations in the cause. Most of the servants are examined, and, in spite of prayers and entreaties, Mrs Ludlow herself, who is made to swear on the vessel alleged to have suffered pollution. Their verdict, as might be expected, is that of guilty; and Swift, with all the solemnity of justice, pronounces sentence of death on the trembling Sheridan, awfully concluding with 'The Lord have mercy on your soul!' A rope is produced; Sheridan sees he shall be hanged *pro forma*; out of the dock he springs, and flies up stairs,

of avaricious. He gave to the uttermost of his power, but he suffered no advantage to be taken of him. This was for a time an obstacle to his popularity ; for the vulgar are always inclined to praise an easy and indifferent temper, in preference even to liberality, when meted forth by the severe test of merit. But the Dean's real and discriminating charity aimed at a better reward than popular applause. Even in his latter years, when habits of economy had assumed the appearance of parsimony, they could not overcome his principle of benevolence. When he was extremely ill, he heard of the ruin of Mr Ellis, a cabinet-maker, an industrious young man, newly married, by a casual fire. The Dean instantly gave Mrs Whiteway twenty pounds for the use of the young couple, charging his friend to the whole court in full cry after him. But fear having added wings to his feet, he had sufficient time to bolt his chamber-door, which he barricadoed as well as he could, with what furniture was in the room. Here for two hours he remained besieged ; at length he capitulated, on a solemn assurance that he should not be hanged.

« In a day or two the judges arrive ; and, hearing the contempt that Swift had put upon them, send an express with an account of it to the lord lieutenant, who very wisely laughed at the frolic. Not finding the redress they expected, they make a formal complaint to the bishops, who had nearly resolved to take up the matter seriously ; but one more prudent than the rest recommended that the whole should be hushed up.»

conceal the quarter from which the relief had been administered.

It is a well-known fact, that Swift, with the first five hundred pounds which he could call his own, instituted a fund for granting small loans to such industrious artizans and tradesmen as could find security for repaying the money by small weekly instalments; but insisting upon punctuality in these repayments, without which the funds must soon have been exhausted. Dr Johnson, no friend to Swift's fame, has represented this circumstance in an unfavourable view, as if he « employed the catchpoll under the appearance of charity.» Yet, no one knew better than Dr Johnson the uselessness of vague and indiscriminate bounty, or the advantage of awakening the needy to habits of regular economy. It is more honourably reported, that many families of considerable respectability in Dublin owed the rise of their prosperity to assistance from this small fund; nor can it be doubted, that the practice of regularly saving a portion of weekly income, to repay the assistance thus afforded them, had more influence on their future fortune than might have been derived from double the sum conferred as an eleemosynary gift.¹

¹ Of course, between the humour of the Dean and that of the inferior Irish, some odd anecdotes occurred in the management of this fund. One old woman is said posi-

The Dean's views extended beyond the immediate relief of the poor, though he always carried about him a certain sum in different kinds of coin to be distributed to deserving objects. He chiefly laboured to place the mode of providing for them upon some permanent footing, which should at once render imposition difficult, and secure relief to the necessitous. On this subject he wrote several Tracts. He also exercised a kind of police among the poor women who maintained themselves by selling flowers, fruit, and such articles of petty traffic. He had

tively to have refused payment, because, as she said, the money had not luck with her since she had dealt with the church; and she became so vociferous in her complaints, that the Dean gave up his claim, fearing, as he said, she would meet him with an action of damages for having lent her the money that brought so many misfortunes with it. A cobbler, who had been punctual in his first payment of a small instalment, had a tankard of ale by the Dean's orders. At his second payment he requested the same refreshment, upon which the Dean, in a rage, ordered him to depart and let him see him no more; with which injunction the man punctually complied, glad no doubt to pay his debt so easily. Upon another occasion, it is said, that a person who wished to borrow a small sum of money, being asked by Swift whom he proposed as security? "I have none to offer," said the poor man, "excepting my faith in my Redeemer." Swift accepted the security, made the entry accordingly with all formality, and declared that none of his debtors was more punctual than this man.

nicknames for many of them, according to their persons and occupations, as Flora, Cancerina, Stumpa-nympha, and so forth. It is said he was once interrupted in his office of censor of these petty dealers, by one of them who affected to mistake him for Higgins, a bustling, pragmatical clergyman of the time, who had made himself remarkable by the vehemence of his high-church politics. Swift liked the mistake so ill, that he was observed afterwards to avoid the street in which this woman kept her booth. In general, however, he neither met reply nor resistance, and as his authority was always exercised for the benefit of the public, so it was usually mingled with bounty towards his subjects.¹

The exertions of his own life bear witness to the Dean's love of his country, and regard for literature; and one of his last public acts

¹ He was every where received by the common people with the most profound respect, and used to say they should subscribe forty shillings a-year to keep him in hats, so numerous were the bows which he received and regularly returned. Upon one occasion he made a ludicrous experiment on the public belief in his authority. A number of people having assembled round the deanery to see an eclipse, Swift became tired of their noise, and commanded the crier to make proclamation that the eclipse was put off by command of the Dean of St Patrick's. This extraordinary annunciation was received with great gravity, and was the means of dispersing the assembled star-gazers.

exhibited the interest which he took in the prosperity of the University of Dublin.¹ These sentiments formed the basis on which he founded his friendships; for in his better days every individual whom he favoured was recommended either by learning or patriotism. And if, in some latter instances, his regard was less worthily conferred, it was when his situation exposed him to have the affectation of these qualities passed upon him for the reality. The steadiness of his friendship, and his readiness to discharge the duties which it imposed, at every risk of loss or danger to himself, has been already commemorated. His prejudices and antipathies were often too rashly adopted, and grounded in general upon reasons of political aversion. But Swift's mind was open to conviction, and, in most instances, when the ardour of controversy had subsided, he renewed the friendships it had broken off, or has spoken with candour and generosity of the objects of his satire. In two cases, however, he seems to have been implacable. His resentment outlived the faculties and the life

¹ From the London and Dublin Magazine for March 1735, p. 250.—“Last Thursday and yesterday, his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Lord Bishop of Clogher, met at our university as visitors, to examine into the conduct of the fellows, and the abuses of the college. The Rev. Dr Swift, D. S. P. D., was present, and spoke against some corruptions and abuses.”

of Marlborough, and attended his funeral with a satirical epitaph, which, however witty, dishonoured the writer more than the hero. Nor was he able to forbear a sarcasm against Steele, even in the Rhapsody on Poetry, when death ought to have silenced resentment. In his latter and more evil days, he classed his friends into Ungrateful—Grateful—Indifferent—and Doubtful. We give the arrangement in a note, only observing it seems to have been made in a moment of spleen and suspicion; and that the Dean retained for many of these whom he has stigmatized as *ungrateful* a sincere value, inconsistent with their meriting that odious character.¹

¹ LIST OF FRIENDS,

Ungrateful—Grateful—Indifferent—and Doubtful.

Archbishop of Dublin	Mr Warburton (curate
(Dr King) u.	at Laracor) i.
Mr Read d. g.	Mr Walls u.
Captain Bernege . . . g.	Humphry May . . . u.
Mr Harrison . . . d. g.	at last . . . g.
Mr Fiddes i.	Dean of Down, Pratt . u.
L. Pr. (Lord Primate	Mr Berkeley . . . u.
Marsh) g.	Mr Steele . . . u.
Mr Forbes u.	Mr Robert Pooley . d.
Mr Barber u.	Mr Higgins . . . u.
Mr Tooke g.	John Grattan . . . g.
M—M—(Mrs Manley) . g.	Robert Grattan . . g.
Dr Sacheverell . . . i.	Dr Delany . . i. partly g.
Mr Trapp i.	Mr Lightburn . . u.
Mr Smyth i.	Charles Grattan . . g.

The same liberality distinguished him respecting criticism, whether he received it from others, or communicated his own remarks for their benefit. At Addison's suggestion (as we have already stated), in the short poem of Baucis and Philemon, he struck out forty verses, added forty verses, and altered the same number. On another occasion, he puts a pamphlet into the hands of a clergyman belonging to his chapter, for the benefit of his remarks. The critic suggested two alterations, which he instantly adopted. When the work appeared, he became sensible that the passages were altered for the worse, and expressed to the Dean his regret that the alteration should have been suggested, and his surprise that he had acquiesced in them. "Sir," said Swift, "I considered that the passages were of no great consequence, and I made the alterations you desired without hesitation, lest, had I stood up in their defence, you might have imputed it to the vanity of an author unwilling to hear of his errors; and by this

Dr St— (Bishop Sterne)	u.	Mr Curtis	 g.
Mr Stratford	 i.	Mr Corbert	 i.
Mr Ford	 g.	Mr Nisbit	 u.
Mr Pope	 g.	Mr James Stopford	 g.
Mr Gay	 g.	Dr Sheridan	 g.
Dr Parnell	 u. d.	Queen C—	 u.
Mr Manley (the Post-		Mr Wood	 g.
Master)	 u.	Sir —	 u.
Dr Raymond	 u.	Mrs Barber	 g.

ready compliance, I hoped you would, at all times hereafter, be the more free in your remarks. »

The same criticism to which he himself so readily deferred, he was willing to extend for the benefit of his friends, or of any young man of promising talent; and his friend Tickell has justly characterized him in this capacity :—

He too, from whom attentive Oxford draws
Rules for just thinking, and poetic laws,
To growing bards his learned aid shall lend,
The strictest critic, and the kindest friend.

Of these criticisms, there are many specimens in his correspondence, in which his chastity of taste, and correctness of poetical ear, are eminently displayed. It sometimes happened, however, that when teased for an opinion by those upon whom criticism would have been thrown away, he was unable to repress the causticity of his disposition. To one poet he returned his manuscript carefully folded up; assuring the author that he had gone through it with care, and struck out at least half the faults. The poor bard, impatient to profit by Swift's remarks, stopped under a gateway in his road homeward, and, opening the packet, discovered, to his infinite mortification, that the Dean had carefully blotted out every second line in his poem. With this whimsical expression of satirical humour, his conduct in the case of young Mr Fitzher-

bert may be advantageously contrasted. This youth, expelled from his father's house by hard usage, applied to the Dean, as the general patron of the oppressed against public or domestic tyranny. He sent him some verses, with which Swift was pleased. The Dean not only wrote a most admirable letter¹ of mingled intercession and remonstrance, but supplied the young man with money for relief of his immediate wants. He then waited upon the obdurate father, rebuked him for delaying to answer his letter, and extorted his consent that the young man should be sent to prosecute his medical studies at Leyden, with a suitable allowance.

As an AUTHOR, there are three peculiarities remarkable in the character of Swift. The first of these has been rarely conceded to an author, at least by his contemporaries. It is the distinguished attribute of ORIGINALITY, and it cannot be refused to Swift by the most severe critic. Even Johnson has allowed that perhaps no author can be found who has borrowed so little, or has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original. There was indeed nothing written before his time which could serve for his model, and the few hints which he has adopted from other authors bear no more resemblance to his compositions

¹ Dated 19th March, 1734-5.

than the green flax to the cable which is formed from it.

The second peculiarity, which has indeed been already noticed, is his total indifference to literary fame. Swift executed his various and numerous works as a carpenter forms wedges, mallets, or other implements of his art, not with the purpose of distinguishing himself by the workmanship bestowed on the tools themselves, but solely in order to render them fit for accomplishing a certain purpose, beyond which they were of no value in his eyes. He is often anxious about the success of his argument, and angrily jealous of those who debate the principles and the purpose for which he assumes the pen, but he evinces, on all occasions, an unaffected indifference for the fate of his writings, providing the end of their publication was answered. The careless mode in which Swift suffered his works to get to the public, his refusing them the credit of his name, and his renouncing all connexion with the profits of literature,¹ indicate his disdain of the character of a professional author.

¹ In a letter to Pulteney, 12th May, 1735, the Dean says, "I never got a farthing for any thing I writ except once, about eight years ago, and that by Mr Pope's prudent management for me." This probably alludes to *Gulliver's Travels*, for which Pope certainly obtained from the bookseller 300 l. There may, however, be some question, whether this sum was not left at Pope's disposal,

The third distinguishing mark of Swift's literary character is, that, with the exception of history (for his fugitive attempts in Pindaric and Latin verse are too unimportant to be noticed), he has never attempted any style of composition in which he has not obtained a distinguished pitch of excellence. We may often think the immediate mode of exercising his talents trifling, and sometimes coarse and offensive; but his Anglo-latin verses, his riddles, his indelicate descriptions, and his violent political satires, are in their various departments as excellent as the subjects admitted, and only leave us room occasionally to regret that so much talent was not uniformly employed upon nobler topics.

As a poet, Swift's post is pre-eminent in the sort of poetry which he cultivated. He never attempted any species of composition, in which either the sublime or the pathetic were required of him. But in every department of poetry where wit is necessary, he displayed, as the subject chanced to require, either the blasting lightning of satire, or the lambent and meteor-like coruscations of frolicsome humour. His powers of versification are admirably adapted to his favourite subjects. Rhyme, which is a handcuff to an inferior poet, he who is master as well as that which he got for the Miscellanies, and which Swift abandoned to him.

of his art wears as a bracelet. Swift was of the latter description; his lines fall as easily into the best grammatical arrangement, and the most simple and forcible expression, as if he had been writing in prose. The numbers and the coincidence of rhymes, always correct and natural, though often unexpected, distinguish the current of his poetical composition, which exhibits, otherwise, no mark of the difficulty with which these graces are attained. In respect of matter, Swift seldom elevates his tone above a satirical diatribe, a moral lesson, or a poem on manners; but the former are unrivalled in severity, and the latter in ease. Sometimes, however, the intensity of his satire gives to his poetry a character of emphatic violence, which borders upon grandeur. This is peculiarly distinguishable in the Rhapsody on Poetry, which, according to Dr King, he accounted his best satire, and surely with great justice. Yet this grandeur is founded, not on sublimity either of conception or expression, but upon the energy of both; and indicates rather ardour of temper, than power of imagination. *Facit indignatio versus.* The elevation of tone arises from the strong mood of passion rather than from poetical fancy. When Dryden told Swift he would never be a poet, he only had reference to the Pindaric Odes, where power of imagination was necessary for success. In the walk

of satire and familiar poetry, wit, and knowledge of mankind, joined to facility of expression, are the principal requisites for excellence, and in these Swift shines unrivalled. Cadenus and Vanessa may be considered as Swift's *chef-d'œuvre* in that class of poems which is not professedly satirical. It is a poem on manners; and, like one of Marmontel's *Contes Moraux*, traces the progress and involutions of a passion, existing between two persons in modern society, contrasted strongly in age, manners, and situation. Yet even here the satirical vein of Swift has predominated. We look in vain for depth of feeling or tenderness of sentiment; although, had such existed in the poet's mind, the circumstances must have called it forth. The mythological fable, which conveys the compliments paid to Vanessa, is as cold as that addressed to Ardelia or to Miss Floyd. It is, in short, a kind of poetry which neither affects sublimity nor pathos, but in which the graceful facility of the poet unites with the acute observation of the observer of human nature, to commemorate the singular contest between Cadenus and Vanessa, as an extraordinary chapter in the history of the mind.

The Dean's promptitude in composition was equal to his smoothness and felicity of expression. At Mr Gore's, in the county of Cavan, he heard the lively air called the Feast of

O'Rourke, and, obtaining a literal translation of the original Irish song from the author, Mr Macgowran, executed with surprising rapidity the spirited translation which is found in his works.¹

Of the general style of Swift's poems, Dr Johnson has said, in language not to be amended—"They are often humourous, almost always light, and have the qualities which recommend such compositions, easiness and gaiety. They are, for the most part, what their author intended. The diction is correct, the numbers are smooth, and the rhymes exact. There seldom occurs a hard-laboured expression, or a redundant epithet; all his verses exemplify his own definition of a good style—they consist of 'proper words in proper places.'"

As an historian Swift is entitled to little notice. The History of England is an abridgement, written evidently in imitation of Paterculus, but without those advantages in point of information which render the Latin author valuable. The Dean abandoned his task, because, as he said, with a sort of smile, to Mr Deane Swift, "I have found them all such a pack of rascals, I would have no more to say to them." His account of the Four Last Years

¹ The Dean has omitted the last six verses. Perhaps the author himself chose to suppress them, as reflecting upon the Catholic clergy.

of Queen Anne has little pretensions to the name of history; it is written with the feelings and prejudices of a party writer, and does not deserve to be separated from the Examiners, and other political tracts, of which Swift was the author. The tendency and purpose of these various publications, as well as of the Drapier's Letters, have already been illustrated.

But although his political treatises raised his fame when published, and are still read as excellent models of that species of composition, it is to his Tale of a Tub, to the Battle of the Books, to his moral romance of Gulliver, and to his smaller, but not less exquisite satires upon men and manners, that Swift owes the extent and permanency of his popularity as an English classic of the first rank. In reference to these works, Cardinal Polignac, to whom Swift was well known, used the remarkable expression, *Qu'il avoit l'esprit créateur*. He possessed, indeed, in the highest perfection, the wonderful power of so embodying and imaging forth "the shadowy tribes of mind," that the fiction of the imagination is received by the reader as if it were truth. Undoubtedly the same keen and powerful intellect, which could sound all the depths and shallows of active life, had stored his mind with facts drawn from his own acute observation, and thus supplied with materials

the creative talent which he possessed; for although the knowledge of the human mind may be, in a certain extent, intuitive, and subsist without extended acquaintance with the living world, yet that acquaintance with manners, equally remarkable in Swift's productions, could only be acquired from intimate familiarity with the actual business of the world.

In fiction he possessed, in the most extensive degree, the art of verisimilitude;—the power, as we observed, in the case of *Gulliver's Travels*, of adopting and sustaining a fictitious character, under every peculiarity of place and circumstance. A considerable part of this secret rests upon minuteness of narrative. Small and detached facts form the foreground of a narrative when told by an eye-witness. They are the subjects which immediately press upon his attention, and have, with respect to him as an individual, an importance which they are far from bearing to the general scene in which he is engaged; just as a musket shot, passing near the head of a soldier, makes a deeper impression on his mind, than all the heavy ordnance which has been discharged throughout the engagement. But to a distant spectator all these minute incidents are lost and blended in the general current of events; and it requires the discrimination of Swift, or of De Foe, to select, in a

fictitious narrative, such an enumeration of minute incidents as might strike the beholder of a real fact, especially such a one as has not been taught, by an enlarged mind and education, to generalize his observations. I am anticipated in a sort of parallel which I intended to have made between the romances of Gulliver and Robinson Crusoe, by the ingenious author of the History of Fiction,¹ whose words I adopt with pleasure, as expressing an opinion which I have been long induced to hold. After illustrating his proposition, by showing how Crusoe verifies his narrative of a storm, through means of a detail of particular incidents, he proceeds:—"Those minute references immediately lead us to give credit to the whole narrative, since we think they would hardly have been mentioned unless they had been true. The same circumstantial detail of facts is remarkable in Gulliver's Travels, and we are led on by them to a partial belief in the most improbable narrations."¹

The genius of De Foe has never been questioned, but his sphere of information was narrow; and hence his capacity of fictitious invention was limited to one or two characters. A plain sailor, as Robinson Crusoe,—a blunt soldier, as his supposed "Cavalier,"—a sharper in low life, like some of his other fictitious

¹ Dunlop's History of Fiction.

personages, were the only disguises which the extent of his information permitted him to assume. In this respect he is limited, like the sorcerer in the Indian tale, whose powers of transformation were confined to assuming the likeness of two or three animals only. But Swift seems, like the Persian dervise, to have possessed the faculty of transfusing his own soul into the body of any one whom he selected;—of seeing with his eyes, employing every organ of his sense, and even becoming master of the powers of his judgment. Lemuel Gulliver the traveller, Isaac Bickerstaff the astrologer, the Frenchman who writes the new journey to Paris, Mrs Harris, Mary the cook-maid, the grave projector who proposes a plan for relieving the poor by eating their children, and the vehement Whig politician who remonstrates against the enormities of the Dublin signs, are all persons as distinct from each other as they are in appearance from the Dean of St Patrick's. Each maintains his own character, moves in his own sphere, and is struck with those circumstances which his situation in life, or habits of thinking, have rendered most interesting to him as an individual.

The proposition I have ventured to lay down, respecting the art of giving verisimilitude to a fictitious narrative, has a corollary resting on the same principles. As minute

particulars, pressing close upon the observation of the narrator, occupy a disproportionate share of his narrative and of his observation, so circumstances more important in themselves, in many cases, attract his notice only partially, and are therefore but imperfectly detailed. In other words, there is a distance as well as a foreground in narrative, as in natural perspective, and the scale of objects necessarily decreases as they are withdrawn from the vicinity of him who reports them. In this particular, the art of Swift is equally manifest. The information which Gulliver acquires, from hearsay, is communicated in a more vague and general manner than that reported on his own knowledge. He does not, like other voyagers into Utopian realms, bring us back a minute account of their laws and government, but merely such general information upon these topics, as a well-informed and curious stranger may be reasonably supposed to acquire, during some months' residence in a foreign country. In short, the narrator is the centre and main-spring of the story, which neither exhibits a degree of extended information, such as circumstances could not permit him to acquire, nor omits those minute incidents, which the same circumstances rendered of importance to him, because immediately affecting his own person.

Swift has the more easily attained this per-

fection of fictitious narrative, because in all his works, of whatever description, he has maintained the most undeviating attention to the point at issue. What Mr Cambridge has justly observed of the Battle of the Books, is equally true as a general characteristic of Swift's writings; whoever examines them will find that, through the whole piece, no one episode or allusion is introduced for its own sake, but every part appears not only consistent with, but written for the express purpose of strengthening and supporting the whole.

Upon the style of Swift, Dr Johnson has made the following observations, which are entitled to great credit, from the learning and character of the critic. It is, however, to be considered, that the Author of the Rambler may be supposed in some degree to undervalue a structure of composition, so strikingly opposed to his own, and that Dr Johnson, as has already been observed, appears to have been unfriendly to the memory of Dean Swift.¹

¹ When employed in writing the Dean's life, Dr Johnson received two invitations from Deane Swift, Esq. to spend some time at his house in Worcestershire, one of which was conveyed by Mr Theophilus Swift, his son, to whom I owe this information. The purpose was to make every communication in his power, that might throw light on the history of his great and beloved relative. But Dr Johnson declined the invitation, and even refused to receive the information offered, or to communicate with Mr Deane Swift upon the subject. It would

«In his works he has given very different specimens both of sentiments and expression. His 'Tale of a Tub' has little resemblance to his other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction, such as he afterward never possessed, or never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar, that it must be considered by itself: what is true of that, is not true of any thing else which he has written.

«In his other works is found an equable tenor of easy language, which rather trickles than flows. His delight was in simplicity. That he has in his works no metaphor, as has been difficult to assign a motive for the prejudice against Swift, so obvious in Dr Johnson's conduct on this occasion, as well as in many passages of his life of the Dean, especially considering that these great men coincided in political sentiments. There is a letter from Earl Gower to some friend of Swift, dated 1st August, 1738, in which he endeavours to secure the Dean's interest for the purpose of procuring for Johnson the degree of Master of Arts in the university of Dublin, in order to render him eligible to be teacher of a charity-school at Appleby. The Dean may have refused or neglected this application. The late Bishop of Dromore, who had many opportunities of personal observation, was of opinion that Dr Johnson's dislike to Swift arose from the Dean's having opposed Dr Madden's scheme for distributing prizes in Trinity College. It must be remembered, that Dr Johnson himself revised Madden's poem on the death of Boulter. Yet certainly it is unlikely that, so late as 1742, when that primate died, the Dean should have publicly interested himself in the affairs of the university.

been said, is not true; but his few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice. He studied purity; and though perhaps all his strictures are not exact, yet it is not often that solecisms can be found; and whoever depends on his authority may generally conclude himself safe. His sentences are never too much dilated, or contracted; and it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence in his connexions, or abruptness in his transitions.

« His style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilized by nice disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far-sought learning. He pays no court to the passions; he excites neither surprise nor admiration; he always understands himself, and his readers always understand him. The peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge; and it will be sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and common things; he is neither required to mount elevations, nor to explore profundities; his passage is always on a level, along solid ground, without asperities, without obstruction.»

The general character of Swift has been excellently drawn by the learned and candid Granger, with which I request permission to close these memoirs.

«Jonathan Swift was blessed in a higher degree than any of his contemporaries, with the powers of a creative genius. The more we dwell upon the character and writings of this great man, the more they improve upon us : in whatever light we view him, he still appears to be an original. His wit, his humour, his patriotism, his charity, and even his piety, were of a different cast from those of other men. He had in his virtues few equals, and in his talents no superior. In that of humour, and more especially in irony, he ever was, and probably ever will be, unrivalled. He did the highest honour to his country by his parts, and was a great blessing to it by the vigilance and activity of his public spirit. His style, which generally consists of the most naked and simple terms, is strong, clear, and expressive; familiar, without vulgarity or meanness; and beautiful, without affectation or ornament. He is sometimes licentious in his satire; and transgresses the bounds of delicacy and purity. He, in the latter part of his life, availed himself of the privilege of his great wit to trifle; but when, in this instance, we deplore the misapplication of such wonderful abilities, we at the same time admire the whims, if not the dotages, of a Swift. He was, perhaps, the only clergyman, of his time, who had a thorough knowledge of men and manners. His 'Tale of a Tub,' his 'Gulliver's Travels,' and his 'Drapier's

Letters,' are the most considerable of his prose works; and his 'Legion Club,' his Cadenus and Vanessa,' and his 'Rhapsody on Poetry,' are at the head of his poetical performances. His writings, in general, are regarded as standing models of our language, as well as perpetual monuments of their author's fame."

APPENDIX
TO
MEMOIRS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

APPENDIX

TO

MEMOIRS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.

No. I.

PEDIGREE AND ANECDOTES OF THE FAMILY OF SWIFT.

PEDIGREE OF THE YOUNGER BRANCH OF THE SWIFTS OF YORKSHIRE.

ARMS: Or, a chevron nébulé, Argent and Azure, between three bucks in full course, Vert.

Thomas Smith, collated to the territory of St Andrew; = Margaret, who (with nine of her children) was buried in the Cathedral church-yard.

Canterbury. 1569; died June 12. 1592: aged 57.

William Swift, married Oct. 5, 1592, at Kingston, in Kent; = Mary, an heiress of the house of Philpott; died March 5, 1626, aged 58.

in that year succeeded to his father's rectory; in 1602, was rector of Harbledown: and died Oct. 24. 1624.

Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, and also of Elizabeth Dryden. Bridstow. both in Herefordshire; died 1658.

Catherine = Thomas Wiflerde, gent.

Margaret = Henry Atkinson, apothecary and citizen of London.

Adam = . .

Dryden, } died with-
William } out issue.

Willoughby;—
Three other sons.

Four daughters.

Anne = . . Perry.
Another daughter.

Jonathan = Abigail
Erick, of
Leicester,
died April
27, 1710.

Swift,
died in
May,
1667.

The eldest
daughter
of Sir W.
Davenant.

Jane, born in 1666.

JONATHAN SWIFT,
the celebrated Dean
of St Patrick's:
born Nov. 30, 1667.
died Oct. 19, 1745.

1. Godwin Swift, = Four wives;
the last of
them living
a widow, in
1711.

a student of
Gray's-Inn.

2. Thomas, = The eldest
daughter
of Sir W.
Davenant.

Thomas, rector of Put-
tenham, in Surrey;
died 1752, in his 87th
year.

Deane.
Thirteen
other sons,
and three
daughters.

Willoughby
Swift, mer-
chant at
Lisbon.

ANECDOTES
OF
THE FAMILY OF SWIFT.
A FRAGMENT.

WRITTEN BY DR SWIFT.

[The original Manuscript, in his own hand, is lodged in
the University Library of Dublin.]

THE family of the Swifts was ancient in Yorkshire; from them descended a noted person, who passed under the name of *Cavaliero, Swift*, a man of wit and humour. He was made an Irish Peer by King James, or King Charles the First, with the title of Baron *Carlingford*,¹ but never was in that kingdom. Many traditional pleasant stories are related of him, which the family, planted in Ireland, had received from their parents. This lord died without issue male; and his heiress,

¹ *Barnam Swift*, Esq. was created Viscount (not Baron) of Carlingford, by King Charles I. March 20, 1627, and by his death in 1642, S. P. the title became extinct.

whether of the first or second descent, was married to *Robert Fielding*, Esquire, commonly called *Handsome Fielding*; she brought him a considerable estate in Yorkshire, which he squandered away, but had no children; the Earl of Eglinton married another co-heiress of the same family, as he has often told me.¹

Another of the same family was Sir *Edward Swift*, well known in the times of the great rebellion and usurpation, but I am ignorant whether he left heirs or not.

Of the other branch, whereof the greatest part settled in Ireland, the founder was *William Swift*, prebendary of Canterbury,² towards the last years of Queen Elizabeth, and during the reign of King James the First. He was a divine of some distinction. There is a sermon of his extant, and the title is to be seen in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, but I never could get a copy, and I suppose it would now be of little value.³

This William married the heiress of *Philpott*, I suppose a Yorkshire⁴ gentleman, by

¹ Scottish genealogists do not record such a marriage in the pedigree of the Eglintoun family.

² William Swift was rector of St Andrew's in Canterbury, not a prebendary.

³ It was preached Jan. 25, 1621, at St George's, Canterbury, at the funeral of Sir Thomas Wilson, in Rom. viii. 18. and is written much in the style and manner of that age.—D. S.

⁴ More probably of Kent.—D. S.

whom he got a very considerable estate, which, however, she kept in her own power; I know not by what artifice. She was a capricious, ill-natured, and passionate woman, of which I have been told several instances. And it has been a continual tradition in the family, that she absolutely disinherited her only son *Thomas*, for no greater crime than that of robbing an orchard when he was a boy. And thus much is certain, that except a church or chapter lease which was not renewed, *Thomas* never enjoyed more than one hundred pounds a year, which was all at *Goodrich*, in *Herefordshire*, whereof not above one half is now in the possession of a great grandson.

His original picture¹ is now in the hands of *Godwin Swift*, of *Dublin*, Esq. his great grandson, as well as that of his wife, who seems to have a good deal of the shrew in her countenance;² whose arms of an heiress are joined with his own; and by the last he seems to have been a person somewhat fantastic; for in these he gives, as his device, a dolphin (in those days called a *Swift*, twisted about an anchor, with this motto, *Festina lente*.

There is likewise a seal with the same coat of arms (his not joined with his wife's), which

¹ Drawn in 1603, æt. 57 : his wife's in the same year, æt. 54.—D. S.

² These pictures are still preserved in the family.

the said William commonly made use of, and this is also now in the possession of Godwin Swift above mentioned.

His eldest son *Thomas* seems to have been a clergyman before his father's death. He was vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, within a mile or two of Ross; he had likewise another church living, with about one hundred pounds a-year in land, as I have already mentioned. He built a house on his own land in the village of Goodrich, which, by the architecture, denotes the builder to have been somewhat whimsical and singular, and very much toward a projector. The house is above a hundred years old, and still in good repair, inhabited by a tenant of the female line, but the landlord, a young gentleman, lives upon his own estate in Ireland.¹

This Thomas was distinguished by his courage, as well as his loyalty to King Charles the First, and the sufferings he underwent for that

¹ This house, now the property of Mr Theophilus Swift, is still standing. A vault is shown beneath the kitchen, accessible only by raising one of the flagstones. Here were concealed the provisions of bread and milk, which supported the lives of the family after they had been plundered by the Parliamentary soldiers. The vicar was in those days considered as a conjuror, especially when, his neighbours being discharged from assisting him, and all his provisions destroyed, he still continued to subsist his family. This vault is probably one of the peculiarities of architecture noticed by the Dean.

prince, more than any person of his condition in England. Some historians of those times relate several particulars of what he acted, and what hardships he underwent for the person and cause of that blessed martyred prince. He was plundered by the Round-heads six-and-thirty times, some say above fifty. He engaged his small estate, and gathered all the money he could get, quilted it in his waistcoat, got off to a town held for the king, where being asked by the governor, who knew him well, « what he could do for his majesty?» Mr Swift said, « he would give the king his coat,» and, stripping it off, presented it to the governor; who observing it to be worth little, Mr Swift said, « then take my waistcoat;» he bid the governor weigh it in his hand, who, ordering it to be ripped, found it lined with three hundred broad pieces of gold, which, as it proved a seasonable relief, must be allowed an extraordinary supply from a private clergyman with ten children, of a small estate, so often plundered, and soon after turned out of his livings in the church.

At another time, being informed that three hundred horse of the rebel party intended in a week to pass over a certain river, upon an attempt against the Cavaliers, Mr Swift having a head mechanically turned, he contrived certain pieces of iron with three¹ spikes, whereof

¹ It should be four.—S.

one must always be with the point upward; he placed them over night in the ford, where he received notice that the rebels would pass early the next morning, which they accordingly did, and lost two hundred of their men, who were drowned or trod to death by the falling of their horses, or torn by the spikes.

His sons, whereof four were settled in Ireland (driven thither by their sufferings and by the death of their father), related many other passages, which they learned either from their father himself, or from what had been told them by the most credible persons of Herefordshire, and some neighbouring counties: and which some of those sons often told to their children; many of which are still remembered, but many more forgot.

He was deprived of both his church livings sooner than most other loyal clergymen, upon account of his superior zeal for the king's cause, and his estate sequestered. His preferments, at least, that of Goodrich, were given to a fanatical saint, who scrupled not, however, to conform upon the Restoration, and lived many years, I think, till after the Revolution: I have seen many persons at Goodrich who knew and told me his name, which I cannot now remember.

The lord-treasurer Oxford told the Dean, that he had, among his father's (Sir Edward Harley's) papers, several letters from Mr Tho-

mas Swift, writ in those times, which he promised to give to the grandson, whose life I am now writing; but never going to his house in Herefordshire while he was treasurer, and the queen's death happening in three days after his removal, the Dean went to Ireland, and the earl being tried for his life, and dying while the Dean was in Ireland, he could never get them.

Mr Thomas Swift died in the year 1658, and in the 63d year of his age; his body lies under the altar at Goodrich, with a short inscription.¹ He died about two years before

¹ This was erected by the Dean, and was the subject of some pleasantry between Pope and him, page 4, vol. I, note. At the same time the Dean gave a chalice to the church of Goodrich. The following note, directing how it should be conveyed thither, is copied from a fragment found among Mr Lyons' papers. It seems to have been written by that great grandson of the vicar of Goodrich, who was then in possession of part of the family estate.

« Doctor Swift will bee obligeing to Goodrich in presenting the cupp to our church, which is Goodrich church, and is a vicaridge endow'd. Our grandfather, Mr Thomas Swift, was vicar of this church of Goodrich. The present vicar is Mr Daniell Wilson. 'Twill be a very safe way to direct the cupp to Bristoll, to Mr James Hillhouse, merchant there, and direct him to deliver it to the present vicar's order. We have correspondence every fortnight by a navigable river to Bristoll.» The chalice had been the property of Swift's grandfather, as appears from the following inscription: THOMAS SWIFT, HUIUS ECCLESIE RECTOR, NOTUS IN HISTORIIS OB EA QUAE FECIT ET PASSUS EST PRO CAROLO PRIMO, EX HOC CALICE EGRO-

the return of King Charles the Second, who, by the recommendation of some prelates, had promised, if ever God should restore him, that he would promote Mr Swift in the church, and otherwise reward his family, for his extraordinary services and zeal, and persecutions in the royal cause; but Mr Swift's merit died with himself.¹

TANTIBUS PROPINAVIT EUNDEM CALICEM JONATH. SWIFT, S. T. D. DECAN. SANCTI PATRICII, DUBLIN, THOMÆ EX FILIO NEPOS HUIC ECCLESIAE IN PERPETUAM DEDICAT. 1725.

This inscription is from a scroll in the Dean's hand-writing, bearing the following variation in that of Tickell the poet. « *Vinum ex hoc calice consecratum fidelibus fuga aut morbo propinavit.* » It is said, by tradition in Mr Tickell's family, that the inscription was also revised by Addison.

¹ It appears that the Dean intended to have enlarged this memorial of his ancestors with the assistance of Dr Lyons, among whose papers the editor found the following memorandum, labelled in Swift's hand-writing, « *Memoirs of my grandfather, Thomas Swift, by Mr Lyons. April 1738.* » The editor has prefixed the extract from Mercurius Rusticus, to which Mr Lyons' memoranda refer.

« When the Earl of Stamford was in Herefordshire, in October 1642, and pillaged all that kept faith and allegiance to the king, information was given to Mistris Swift, wife of Thomas Swift, parson of Goodrich, that her house was designed to be plundered. To prevent so great a danger, she instantly repaired to Hereford, where the Earl then was, some ten miles from her own home, to petition him that no violence might be offered to her house or goods. He most nobly, and according to the goodness of his disposition, threw the petition away, and

He left ten sons and three or four daughters, most of which lived to be men and women. She swore no small oaths that she should be plundered tomorrow. The good gentlewoman, being out of hope to prevail, and seeing there was no good to be done by petitioning him, speeds home as fast as she could, and that night removed as much of her goods as the shortness of the time would permit. Next morning, to make good the Earl of Stamford's word, Captain Kirle's troop, consisting of seventy horse and thirty foot, which were hangers-on (birds of prey), came to Mr Swift's house. There they took away all his provision of victuals, corn, household stuff, which was not conveyed away; they empty his beds, and fill the ticks with malt; they rob him of his cart and six horses, and make this part of their theft the means to convey away the rest. Mistris Swift, much affrighted to see such a sight as this, thought it best to save herself though she lost her goods; therefore, taking up a young child in her arms, began to secure herself by flight, which one of the troopers perceiving, he commanded her to stay, or (holding his pistol at her breast) threatened to shoot her dead. She (good woman) fearing death, whether she went or returned, at last, shunning that death which was next unto her, she retires back to her house, where she saw herself undone, and yet durst not oppose or ask why they did so. Having thus rifled the house and gone, next morning early she goes again to Hereford, and there again petitions the earl to show some compassion on her and her ten children, and that he would be pleased to cause her horses, and some part of her goods, to be restored unto her. The good earl was so far from granting her petition, that he would not vouchsafe so much as to read it. When she could not prevail herself, she makes use of the mediation of friends. These have the repulse too, his lordship remaining inexorable, without any inclination to mercy. At last, hoping that all men's hearts were not adamant relentless, she

men: his eldest son, *Godwin Swift*, of the Inner Temple,¹ Esq. (so styled by Guillim the herald,

leaves the earl, and makes her address to Captain Kirle, who, upon her earnest intreaty, grants her a protection for what was left: but for restitution, there was no hope for that. This protection cost her no less than thirty shillings. It seems paper and ink are dear in those parts. And now, thinking herself secure in this protection, she returns home, in hope that what was left she might enjoy in peace and quietness. She had not been long at home but Captain Kirle sends her word, that, if it pleased her, she might buy four of her own six horses again, assuring her, by her father's servant and tenant, that she should not fear being plundered of them any more by the Earl of Stamford's forces, while they were in those parts. Encouraged by these promises, she was content to buy her own, and deposited eight pounds ten shillings for four of her horses. And now, conceiving the storm to be blown over, and all danger past, and placing much confidence in her purchased protection, she causes all her goods, secured in her neighbours' houses to be brought home; and, since it could not be better, rejoiced that she had not lost all. She had not enjoyed these thoughts long, but Captain Kirle sent unto her for some vessels of cyder, whereof having tasted, but not liking it, since he could not have drink for himself, he would have provender for his horse, and therefore, instead of cyder,

¹ Of Gray's Inn, not of the Inner Temple. D. S.

In a fragment of the Dean's hand-writing, entitled, "Memorial of my grandfather for a monument at Goodrich," there is a note of armorial bearings, "Or, Chevron nebule argent and azure between three bucks in full course, vert. N. B. These arms borne by Godwin Swift of Goodridge, Co. of Hereford, Esq. one of the Society of Gray's Inn."

in whose book the family is described at large,) was, I think, called to the bar before the Re-

he demands ten bushels of oats. Mistris Swift, seeing that the denial might give some ground of a quarrel, sent him word that her husband had not two bushels of oats in a year for tythe, nor did they sow any on their gleab: both of which were most true. Yet, to show how willing she was (to her power) to comply with him, that the messenger might not return empty, she sent him forty shillings to buy oats. Suddenly after the captain of Goodridge castle sends to Mr Swift's house for victual and corn. Mistris Swift instantly shews him her protection. He, to answer show with show, shows her his warrant, and so, without any regard to her protection, seizeth upon that provision which was in the house, together with the cyder which Captain Kirle had refused. Hereupon Mistris Swift writes to Captain Kirle, complaining of this injury, and the affront done to him in slighting his protection; but, before the messenger could return with an answer to her letter, some from the castle come a second time to plunder the house, and they did what they came for. Presently after comes a letter from Captain Kirle in answer to Mistris Swift, that the Earl of Stamford did by no means approve of the injuries done unto her, and withal, by word of mouth, sends to her for more oats. She, perceiving that as long as she gave they would never leave asking, resolved to be drilled no more. The return not answering expectation, on the 3d of December, Captain Kirle's lieutenant, attended by a considerable number of dragoons, comes to Mr Swift's house, and demands entrance; but the doors being kept shut against them, and not being able to force them, they broke down two iron bars in a stone window, and so, with swords drawn and pistols cocked, they enter the house. Being entered, they take all Master Swift and his wife's apparel his books, and his children's clothes,

storation. He married a relation of the old Marchioness of Ormond, and upon that ac-

they being in bed; and those poor children, that hung by their clothes, unwilling to part with them, they swung them about until (their hold-fast failing) they dashed them against the walls. They took away all his servants' clothes, and made so clean work with one, that they left him not a shirt to cover his nakedness. There was one of the children, an infant, lying in the cradle, they robb'd that, and left not the poor little soul a rag to defend it from the cold. They took away all the iron, pewter, and brass; and a very fair cupboard of glasses, which they could not carry away, they broke to pieces: and the four horses lately redeemed are with them lawful prize again, and left nothing of all the goods but a few stools, for his wife, children, and servants, to sit down and bemoan their distressed condition. Having taken away all, and being gone, Mistris Swift, in compassion to her poor infant in the cradle, took it up, almost starved with cold, and wrapped it in a petticoat, which she took off from herself: and now hoped, that having nothing to lose would be a better protection for their persons than that which she purchased of Captain Kirle for thirty shillings. But, as if Job's messenger would never make an end, her three maid-servants, whom they in the castle had compelled to carry the poultry to the castle, return and tell their mistris that they in the castle said, that they had a warrant to seize upon Mistris Swift and bring, her into the castle, and that they would make her three maid-servants wait on her there, threatening to plunder all under the petticoat, and other uncivil immodest words, not fit for them to speak, or me to write. Hereupon Mistris Swift fled to the place where her husband, for fear of the rebels, had withdrawn himself. She had not been gone two hours, but they come from the castle, and bring with them three teams to carry away what was before

count, as well as his father's loyalty, the old Duke of Ormond made him his Attorney-

designed for plunder, but wanted means of conveyance. When they came, there was a batch of bread hot in the oven. This they seize on. Ten children on their knees intreat but for one loaf, and at last, with much importunity, obtained it; but before the children had eaten it they took even that one loaf away, and left them destitute of a morsel of bread amongst ten children. Ransacking every corner of the house, that nothing might be left behind, they find a small pewter dish in which the dry-nurse had put pap to feed the poor infant, the mother who gave it suck being fled to save her life. This they seize on too. The nurse intreats, for God's sake, that they would spare that, pleading that, in the mother's absence, it was all the sustenance which was or could be provided to sustain the life of the child, and, on her knees, intreated to show mercy unto the child, that 'knew not the right hand from the left,' a motive which prevailed with God himself, though justly incensed against Nineveh.

« Master Swift's eldest son, a youth, seeing this barbarous cruelty, demanded of them a reason for this so hard usage. They replied, that his father was a traitor to the king and parliament, and added, that they would keep them so short, that they should eat the very flesh from their arms; and, to make good their word, they threaten the miller, that, if he ground any corn for these children, they would grind him in his own mill; and, not contented with this, they go to Mr Swift's next neighbour (whose daughter was his servant), and take him prisoner; they examine him on oath what goods of Mr Swift's he had in his custody. He professing that he had none, they charge him to take his daughter away from Mr Swift's service, or else they threaten to plunder him; and,

General in the palatinate of Tipperary. He had four wives, one of which, to the great to make sure work, they make him give them security to obey all their commands. Terrified with this, the neighbours stand afar off, and pity the distressed condition of these persecuted children, but dare not come or send to their relief. By this means the children and servants had no sustenance, hardly any thing to cover them, from Friday six o'clock at night, until Saturday twelve at night, until, at last, the neighbours, moved with the lamentable cries and complaints of the children and servants, one of the neighbours, overlooking all difficulties, and showing that he durst be charitable in despite of these monsters, ventured in, and brought them some provision. And if the world would know what it was that so exasperated these rebels against this gentleman, the Earl of Stamford, a man that is not bound to give an account of all his actions, gave two reasons for it: first, because he had bought arms and conveyed them into Monmouthshire,—which, under his lordship's good favour, was not so; and, secondly, because, not long before, he preached a sermon in Rosse upon that text, 'Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' in which his lordship said he had spoken treason, in endeavouring to give Cæsar more than his due. These two crimes cost Mr Swift no less than 300*l*.—*Mercurius Rusticus*. London, 1635. 8vo. p. 82—88.

Here begin Dr Lyons' memoirs. The passages in Italics are written by Swift.

« Thus far the Mercury; which, being about a year after the transacting of these barbarities, could not account for Mr Swift's sequestration, because that was not formally issued until about three years after, viz. in 1646; and on July 5th that year, I find the Committee of Hereford sequestered and ordered the profits of Gothe-

offence of his family, was co-heiress to Admiral Deane, who was one of the regicides. Godwin left several children, who have all estates. He was an ill pleader, but perhaps

ridge into the hands of Jonathan Dryden, minister, until the Christmas following. This Mr Dryden was to see the cure duly officiated; and to receive, gather, and dispose of the dues of the living.

« When his other living of Bridstow was put under sequestration, I know not. But September 25th, that year also, the same committee ordered his ejectment from it for scandal and delinquency, and for being in actual service against the parliament. At the same time also, they ordered Mr Jonathan Swift, the then curate, to be inducted in this cure.» [*«What became of him afterwards I know not, but in 1654 one John Somers got this living.»*]

« The 29th March following, the committee also ordered his ejectment also from Gotheridge, and the inducting of Giles Rawlins to succeed him in that parish, and assign the same reasons for it, as they before had done for the turning him out of Bridstow.» [*«In 1654, one William Tingham was admitted to it.»*]

« Mr Swift was also imprisoned by the committee as soon as the garrison of Hereford fell into the hands of the rebels. I find him in custody at Ragland Castle, when the committee ordered his ejectment from Gotheridge.

« He had a temporal estate in Gotheridge and Marstow, which the same committee ordered to be sequestered, August 4, 1646. After which he endured many hardships with his numerous family, but lived to be restored with the church and his majesty, and died at Gotheridge in a good old age.» [*«A mistake, for he died 1658.»*]

*a little too*¹ dexterous in the subtle parts of the law.

The second son of Mr *Thomas Swift* was called by the same name, was bred at *Oxford*, and took orders. He married the eldest daughter of Sir *William d'Avenant*, but died young, and left only one son, who was also called *Thomas*, and is now rector of *Puttenham* in *Surrey*. His widow lived long, was extremely poor, and in part supported by the famous *Dr South*, who had been her husband's intimate friend.

The rest of his sons, as far as I can call to mind, were Mr *Dryden Swift*, called so after the name of his mother, who was a near relation to Mr *Dryden* the poet, *William, Jonathan*, and *Adam*, who all lived and died in *Ireland*; but none of them left male issue except *Jonathan*, who, beside a daughter, left one son, born seven months after his father's death, of whose life I intend to write a few memorials.

J. S. D. D. and D. of St P——, was the only son of *Jonathan Swift*, who was the seventh or eighth son of Mr *Thomas Swift* above-mentioned, so eminent for his loyalty and his sufferings.

¹ These three words were interlined in the original, some time after it was first written, and were designed by the Doctor to be a sneer upon the memory of his uncle.—D. S.

His father died young, about two years after his marriage; he had some employments and agencies; his death was much lamented on account of his reputation for integrity, with a tolerable good understanding.

He married Mrs *Abigail Erick*,¹ of Leicestershire, descended from the most ancient family of the Ericks, who derive their lineage from Erick the Forester, a great commander, who raised an army to oppose the invasion of William the Conqueror, by whom he was vanquished, but afterward employed to command that prince's forces; and in his old age retired to his house in Leicestershire, where his family has continued ever since, but declining every age, and are now in the condition of very private gentlemen.²

¹ This lady had much of her celebrated son's peculiar humour. She came to visit him after he was settled at Laracor, and lodged with Mr Brent, a printer in George's lane, Dublin, husband of the person who was afterwards the Dean's housekeeper, and who is commemorated by him in the laughable verses, beginning—

Dingley and Brent,
Wherever they went, etc.

Mrs Swift, who had probably discovered the gossiping temper of her landlady, amused her credulity by pretending she had come to Ireland to receive the addresses of a lover, and under that character received her son Jonathan's first visit, before she acquainted Mrs Brent with the trick she had put upon her curiosity.

² The family of *Erick*, which has produced many emi-

This marriage was on both sides very indiscreet, for his wife brought her husband little or no fortune; and his death happening so suddenly,¹ before he could make a sufficient establishment for his family, his son (not then born) hath often been heard to say, that he felt the consequences of that marriage, not only through the whole course of his education, but during the greatest part of his life.

He was born in Dublin, on St Andrew's day; and when he was a year old, an event happened to him that seems very unusual; for his nurse, who was a woman of Whitehaven, being under an absolute necessity of seeing one of her relations, who being then extremely sick, and from whom she expected a legacy; and being extremely fond of the infant, she stole him on shipboard unknown to his mother and uncle, and carried him with her to Whitehaven, where he continued for almost three years. For, when the matter was discovered, his mother sent orders by all means not to hazard a second voyage, till he could be better able to bear it. The nurse was so careful of

nent men, is still represented by two respectable branches, the *Heyricks* of Leicester town, and the *Herricks* of Beaumanor. Of both these branches, distinct pedigrees and many curious historical anecdotes are given in the «History of Leicestershire.»

¹ See at the conclusion of this article some particulars concerning the misfortunes of Swift's parents.

him, that before he returned he had learned to spell; and by the time that he was five years old he could read any chapter in the Bible.

After his return to Ireland, he was sent at six years old to the school of Kilkenny, from whence, at fourteen, he was admitted into the university of Dublin; where, by the ill treatment of his nearest relations, he was so much discouraged and sunk in his spirits, that he too much neglected some parts of his academic studies; for which he had no great relish by nature, and turned himself to reading history and poetry: so that, when the time came for taking his degree of bachelor, although he had lived with great regularity and due observance of the statutes, he was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency; and at last hardly admitted, in a manner little to his credit, which is called in that college, *speciali gratia*. And this discreditable mark, as I am told, stands upon record in their college registry.

The troubles then breaking out, he went to his mother, who lived in Leicester; and after continuing there some months, he was received by Sir William Temple, whose father had been a great friend to the family, and who was now retired to his house called Moor-Park, near Farnham, in Surrey, where he continued for about two years: for he happened,

before twenty years old, by a surfeit of fruit, to contract a giddiness and coldness of stomach, that almost brought him to his grave; and this disorder pursued him with intermissions of two or three years to the end of his life. Upon this occasion he returned to Ireland, by advice of physicians, who weakly imagined that his native air might be of some use to recover his health: but, growing worse, he soon went back to Sir William Temple; with whom growing into some confidence, he was often trusted with matters of great importance. King William had a high esteem for Sir William Temple, by a long acquaintance, while that gentleman was ambassador and mediator of a general peace at Nimeguen. The king, soon after his expedition to England, visited his old friend often at Sheen, and took his advice in affairs of greatest consequence. But Sir William Temple, weary of living so near London, and resolving to retire to a more private scene, bought an estate near Farnham in Surrey, of about 100*l.* a year, where Mr Swift accompanied him.

About that time a bill was brought into the House of Commons for triennial parliaments; against which the king, who was a stranger to our constitution, was very averse, by the advice of some weak people, who persuaded the Earl of Portland that King Charles the First lost his crown and life by consenting to

pass such a bill. The earl, who was a weak man, came down to Moor-Park, by his majesty's orders, to have Sir William Temple's advice, who said much to show him the mistake. But he continued still to advise the king against passing the bill. Whereupon Mr Swift was sent to Kensington with the whole account of the matter in writing, to convince the king and the earl how ill they were informed. He told the earl, to whom he was referred by his majesty (and gave it in writing), that the ruin of King Charles the First was not owing to his passing the triennial bill, which did not hinder him from dissolving any parliament, but to the passing of another bill, which put it out of his power to dissolve the parliament then in being, without the consent of the house. Mr Swift, who was well versed in English history, although he was then under twenty one years old, gave the king a short account of the matter, but a more large one to the Earl of Portland, but all in vain; for the king, by ill advisers, was prevailed upon to refuse passing the bill.¹ This was the first time that Mr Swift had any converse with courts, and he told his friends it was the first incident that helped to cure him of vanity. The consequence of this

¹ This happened in the year 1693, when the bill for triennial parliaments was rejected, not by the King, but by the House of Commons.

wrong step in his majesty was very unhappy; for it put that prince under a necessity of introducing those people called Whigs into power and employments, in order to pacify them. For, although it be held a part of the king's prerogative to refuse passing a bill, yet the learned in the law think otherwise, from that expression used at the coronation, wherein the prince obliges himself to consent to all laws, *quas vulgus elegerit*.

Mr Swift lived with him (Sir William Temple) some time, but, resolving to settle himself in some way of living, was inclined to take orders. However, although his fortune was very small, he had a scruple of entering into the church merely for support, and Sir William Temple, then being master of the rolls in Ireland, offered him an employ of about 120*l.* a-year in that office; whereupon Mr Swift told him, that since he had now an opportunity of living without being driven into the church for a maintenance, he was recommended to the Lord Capel, then Lord Deputy, who gave him a prebend in the north, worth about 100*l.* a-year, of which growing weary in a few months, he returned to England, resigned his living in favour of a friend, and continued in Sir William Temple's house till the death of that great man, who, besides a legacy, left him the care and trust and advantage of publishing his posthumous writings.

Upon this event Mr Swift removed to London, and applied by petition to King William, upon the claim of a promise his majesty had made to Sir William Temple, that he would give Mr Swift a prebend of Canterbury or Westminster. The Earl of Romney, who professed much friendship for him, promised to second his petition; but, as he was an old, vicious, illiterate rake, without any sense of truth or honour, said not a word to the king. And Mr Swift, after long attendance in vain, thought it better to comply with an invitation given him by the Earl of Berkeley to attend him to Ireland, as his chaplain and private secretary: his lordship having been appointed one of the lords-justices of that kingdom. He attended his lordship, who landed near Waterford, and Mr Swift acted as secretary during the whole journey to Dublin. But another person had so insinuated himself into the earl's favour, by telling him that the post of secretary was not proper for a clergyman, nor would be of any advantage to one who only aimed at church preferments, that his lordship, after a poor apology, gave that office to the other.

In some months the Deanery of Derry fell vacant; and it was the Earl of Berkeley's turn to dispose of it. Yet things were so ordered, that the secretary having received a bribe, the deanery was disposed of to another, and Mr

Swift was put off with some other church livings not worth above a third part of that rich deanery, and at this present not a sixth. The excuse pretended was his being too young, although he were then thirty years old.

Extract of authentic particulars respecting the Parents of Dean Swift, from Counsellor Duhigg's History of the King's Inn, Dublin, 1806, p. 216.

« The reader must at last be relieved from the languid dulness of King's Inns extracts, and the observations which accompany them, by an illustration of a matter which ascertains the birth of as great a genius, and as unbending a patriot, as ever graced this country: it also recognizes the account given by that eminent man of his family and parentage, supported by an undoubted document of his father. In 1665, Jonathan Swift memorializes the bench for the office of steward, or undertreasurer, modestly stating, that he was qualified for the employment, by being an assistant to Mr Wale, who lately filled that situation. He further set forth, *that his father and whole family were loyal, and faithfully served his majesty, as well as Charles I., by which they were great sufferers.* That gentleman was admitted an attorney, and member of the King's Inns,

Hilary Term, 1665, in the following terms: 'Jonathan Swift, gentleman, was admitted into the society of the house, and hath paid for his admission (the usual fee) 13s. 4d. on the 26th of January 1664-5.' On the 25th of January 1665-6, he was appointed steward, or undertreasurer, and afterwards authorized to receive from the members the pensions and cast commons for the benefit of Mrs Wale, widow to the preceding steward.

« On the 25th of April 1667, Mr Swift's untimely death caused a similar application from his afflicted widow to the Bench, that they may authorize her brother-in-law, Mr William Swift, to collect the arrear due to her husband. Her request was acceded to with becoming promptitude. Such order had a proper effect: however, 12*l.*, and upwards, remained upon settlement due from her husband to the society, and 100*l.* from the members of that society to Mr Swift, of which 76*l.*, and upwards, was due by the persons who dined at the Bench table. The legal reader will blush to hear the rule of that grave, learned, and religious body. It was not to advance the 100*l.* to this unfortunate woman, nor manfully to discharge the acknowledged debt of their own defaulters, but to choose, out of the arrears due to the Bench table, a sum to balance her account of 12*l.*, and to recommend a farther payment from the body at large.

“ The birth of our great countryman shall be now ascertained beyond cavil or doubt. He was born on the 30th of November 1667; and in the following month of January, his mother renews a complaint of arrears to the Bench, with a pathetic representation of her necessary distress. How many contradictions were heretofore reconciled to make him a native of Leicester; his mother must be presumed to travel post, and at ease, for the purpose of appearing at the King’s Inns in five weeks from her lying-in. All this is to be believed in preference to his own account, or the attestation of a respectable friend. However, fancy or falsehood must, I believe, yield to recorded truth, which would be settled beyond contradiction, if abstracts of King’s Inns accounts had been printed during the Dean’s life, which laudable custom has been only adopted from the year 1797. Let an integrity similar to Swift’s mark future anecdotes, and the preceding circumstances ascertain his birth, the profession of his father, and honest, but unmerited adversity of the surviving parent. It was her aggravated misfortune to solicit an unfeeling group, whose sable records attest a more prompt disposition to support fraud and encourage tyranny, than to render justice, or to relieve with sensibility the orphan and widow’s forlorn sigh.

“ Meantime personal distress multiplied, and

deprived her illustrious offspring of maternal care; for we are told, in the life of Swift, that he was nursed by a Whitehaven woman, who was not paid by his impoverished parent, but, feeling the accustomed affection attached to her situation, carried the infant with her to England. This authentic memorial may satisfy the doubts, or remove the scepticism so artfully raised, and industriously circulated, about the time and place of his birth, or the situation of the family. Ireland is satiated with the brave, honest, and enlightened natives who have undoubtedly adorned her kalendar. Swift had neither vanity nor meanness sufficient to deny his country. His classic and accomplished friend, Dr Sheridan, has confirmed this fact; an authority sufficient to outweigh, by character and situation, an host of venal or interested biographers.”

*Certificate of Dr Swift's Degree; taken at Dublin,
and sent to Oxford.*¹

[Swift has himself stated, in the foregoing memoir, that he was admitted to his degree in a manner little to his credit, called in that college *speciali gratia*. No such words appear on the following *testimonia*; which is not

¹ Extracted from the Congregation-Book by the Rev. Mr Francis Wise, B. D. keeper of the archives of the University of Oxford, and F. S. A., communicated by Richard Rawlinson, L. L. D. and F. R. et Aut. S. V. P.

surprising, since, if I rightly understand Dr Barrett, certainly the best possible authority upon the point, the phrase *per specialem gratiam* is never inserted in such certificates, which barely contain the fact that the degree has been duly taken. The words used by Swift are rather perhaps to be understood historically, than literally and formally, and only mean in general, that he gained his degree rather by favour than merit, though no such entry was placed upon the register. But as Swift, during all this memoir, appears to have had his memory sufficiently accurate, as to the passages of his early life (a circumstance very common where the memory has failed in later events), it was impossible for a biographer to refuse his evidence respecting a particular, which no one would willingly invent respecting himself.]

Omnibus quorum interest salutem. Nos præpositus sociique seniores Collegii Sacro-sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis juxta Dublin, testamur Jonathan Swift, die decimo quinto Februarii 1685, gradum baccalaureatûs in artibus suscepisse, præstito prius fidelitatis erga regiam majestatem juramento. Quod de predicto testimonium, subscriptis singulorum nominibus, et collegii sigillo quo in hisce utimur, confirmandum curavimus. Datum die tertio Maii 1692.

Robert Huntington, Præpos. L. S.

St George Ashe.

Richard Reader.

George Brown.

Benjamin Scraggs.

Quibus in venerabili congregatione magistrorum regentium, 14 die Junii 1692 habita, publicatis, Jonathan Swift (gratia prius petita et concessa) ad eundem gradum, statum, et dignitatem, admissus fuit apud Oxonienses, quibus insignitus erat apud suos Dublinienses.

10 Nov. 1753.

Vera copia,
Ric. Rawlinson.

Jonathan Swift, M. A.
Hart Hall, July 5, 1692.

Lib. Convocat, ab anno 1683, ad ann. 1693.

4 Julii 1692. Whereas Thomas Swift, a complete Bachelor of arts of the university of Dublin, and now of Baliol, has been incorporated and admitted to the same degree in the university, since which time he hath performed all the exercises required by the statutes for the taking the degree of Master of Arts, saving only that of determining in Lent, which he humbly prays may, by the favour of the University, be dispensed with, in regard the exercise cannot be done at this time of the year, and it will be of some concern to him to be admitted to be a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts this term; and whereas Jonathan Swift, a complete Bachelor of Arts in the university of Dublin, and now of Hart Hall, being under the same circumstances, and petitioning for the same favour; We, according to the

power of the Chancellor delegated to us in that behalf, do hereby give our consent, that both their requests be communicated to the heads of houses, and proposed in convocation. Given under our hands and seals the [fourth day] of July 1692.

Jonathan Edwards, Vice. Can.

Fitzherbert Adams.

Ra. Bathurst.

No. II.

DR SWIFT'S WILL, WITH THE CODICIL ANNEXED.

[The documents are preserved in the Prerogative-office, Henrietta Street, Dublin. The will is written upon vellum, by the Dean's own hand. The codicil, which is now published for the first time, is upon paper. It is not in the Dean's hand-writing, excepting the date and signature. The following to Mrs Whiteway, never before published, forms an introduction to the will.]

A Letter of the Dean to Mrs Whiteway, indorsed by him, « March 26, 1737, Directions to Mrs Whiteway.»

As soon as you are assured of my death, whether it shall happen to be in town or the country, I desire you will go immediately to the deanery; and if I die in the country, I desire you will send down a strong coffin, to have my body brought to town, and deposited in any dry part of St Patrick's Cathedral. Then you are to take my keys, and find my will, and send for as many of my executors as are in town, and in presence of three of them have my will read; and what you see therein that relates to yourself, and is to take place after

my death, you are to do in their presence, first delivering my keys to my executors, and then demanding those keys to search where my ready money lies, and take it for your own use, as my will empowers you. But upon their notes you are to lend the money to them, for the charges of my funeral, as directed in my will. Then you are to see that one or more of my said executors shall order my plate and household goods, and other things of value, and what are locked up in my scrutoires, cabinets, etc. to be entered in a list, and secured in their several places, for my executors to dispose of them as my will provides.

You are likewise to deliver the keys of all the rooms, cellars, etc. to my said executors, and often to entreat them to come to the deanery, and pursue the directions in my will, etc.

JONATH. SWIFT.

Deanery-house, March 25, 1737.

You are to deliver my executors all my bonds, mortgages, and papers relating to money, etc. when they shall have agreed where to deposit them with security, taking their receipts.

JONATH. SWIFT.¹

Deanery-house, March 25, 1737.

¹ It is singular, that among the papers so strangely

In the name of God, Amen. I, JONATHAN SWIFT, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of the

recovered by Mr Smith, there is a formal direction to Mrs Whiteway, of the same tenor in most particulars as that which is preserved in the records, but differing in several others, and particularly in assigning the church of Holyhead for Swift's place of sepulture. There is some difference also in the list of executors, which, perhaps, arose from the Dean's increasing defect of memory.

TO MRS MARTHA WHITEWAY.

As soon as Mrs Whiteway hears of my decease, she is to come immediately to the deanery, and first take all the keys of my cabinets, and seal them up in a place, in the presence of Mrs Anne Ridgeway, Roger Kenrick, my verger, and Henry Laird, if any of them be then alive, and in the neighbourhood. Then Mrs Whiteway is to send for as many of my executors as are in town; and, opening my scrutoires, deliver them my will, and let one of the said executors read my will and codicils: There should be three of my executors present at least; they are all in number nine. Then Mrs Whiteway is to take all the ready money she can find, if there be two hundred pounds, but no more, which likewise she may lend to the said executors upon their notes. In case I should happen to have not cash enough, or bankers' bills, to pay the charges of transporting my body to Holyhead, and for my burial in the church of that town, as directed in my will, then she is to assist my executors in sending my plate to some banker, together with my valuable curiosities, which she knows where to find, many of which are bequeathed to John Whiteway, younger son to Mrs Martha Whiteway, and sent to the said Martha to be kept for the use of her said son, except some books bequeathed in my said will or codicils.

Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Dublin, being at this present of sound mind, although weak

I have written the names of my executors in the page on the right hand of this paper.

Mrs Whiteway is to secure the broad paper-book in quarto, wherein the debts due to me, and debts I owe, entered to this present month of April, 1737—seven, together with the whole state of my fortune, as debts, mortgages, etc. and plate, and valuable curiosities, household goods, arrears of tythes, and interest, etc. which my executors are to have a copy of; and Mrs Whiteway knows where to find all my mortgages, bonds, etc. which she is to give to my said executors, taking their receipt, in order to receive the several interests or principals to purchase lands, as declared in my last will; which, when my said executors have entered in form in the proper courts, they are humbly desired to fulfil as soon as they conveniently can.

Signed and sealed, April 22d, 1737—seven,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Witnesses present.

Anne Ridgeway.

Alex. Broneers.

(Names of the Executors.)

Robert Lindsay, Justice in the Common Pleas.

Henry Singleton, Prime Serjeant.

Doctor Delany.

Richard Helsham, M. D.

Eton Stannard, Recorder.

Robert Grattan, of St Audoen's.

James Grattan, of St Nick Within.

James Stopford, of Finglass.

James King, of St Bride's.

(On the back of this letter.)

For Mrs Whiteway to read; and keep when finished.—Codicils.

April 16, 1737.

in body, do here make my last will and testament, hereby revoking all my former wills.

Imprimis, I bequeath my soul to God (in humble hopes of his mercy through Jesus Christ), and my body to the earth. And I desire that my body may be buried in the great aisle of the said cathedral, on the south side, under the pillar next to the monument of Primate Narcissus Marsh, three days after my decease, as privately as possible, and at twelve o'clock at night, and that a black marble of feet square, and seven feet from the ground, fixed to the wall, may be erected, with the following inscription in large letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded.¹

Item, I give and bequeath to my executors all my worldly substance, of what nature or kind soever (except such part thereof as is herein after particularly devised), for the following uses and purposes, that is to say, to the intent that they, or the survivors or survivor of them, his executors, or administrators, as soon as conveniently may be after my death, shall turn it all into ready money, and lay out the same in purchasing lands of inheritance in fee simple, situate in any province in Ireland, except Connaught, but as near to the city of Dublin as conveniently can be found, and not incumbered with, or subject to, any

¹ For this inscription, see p. 154, vol. ii.

leases for lives renewable, or any terms, for years longer than thirty-one; and I desire that a yearly annuity of twenty pounds sterling, out of the annual profits of such lands, when purchased, and out of the yearly income of my said fortune, devised to my executors, as aforesaid, until such purchase shall be made, shall be paid to Rebecca Dingley, of the city of Dublin, spinster, during her life, by two equal half-yearly payments, on the feast of All Saints, and St Philip, and St Jacob, the first payment to be made on such of the said feasts as shall happen next after my death. And that the residue of the yearly profits of the said lands, when purchased, and, until such purchase be made, the residue of the yearly income and interest of my said fortune devised as aforesaid, to my executors, shall be laid out in purchasing a piece of land, situate near Dr Steevens's hospital, or, if it cannot be there had, somewhere in or near the city of Dublin, large enough for the purposes herein after mentioned, and in building thereon an hospital large enough for the reception of as many idiots and lunatics as the annual income of the said lands and worldly substance shall be sufficient to maintain; and I desire that the said hospital may be called St Patrick's Hospital, and may be built in such a manner, that another building may be added unto it, in case the endowment thereof shall be enlarged; so that the

additional building may make the whole edifice regular and complete. And my farther will and desire is, that when the said hospital shall be built, the whole yearly income of the said lands and estate shall, for ever after, be laid out in providing victuals, clothing, medicines, attendance, and all other necessaries for such idiots and lunatics as shall be received into the same; and in repairing and enlarging the building from time to time, as there may be occasion. And, if a sufficient number of idiots and lunatics cannot readily be found, I desire that incurables may be taken into the said hospital to supply such deficiency; but that no person shall be admitted into it that labours under any infectious disease; and that all such idiots, lunatics, and incurables, as shall be received into the said hospital, shall constantly live and reside therein, as well in the night as in the day; and that the salaries of agents, receivers, officers, servants, and attendants, to be employed in the business of the said hospital, shall not in the whole exceed one-fifth part of the clear yearly income or revenue thereof. And I farther desire, that my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, or the heirs of such, shall not have power to demise any part of the said lands so to be purchased as aforesaid, but with consent of the Lord Primate, the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, the Dean of Christ-

church, the Dean of St Patrick's, the Physician to the State, and the Surgeon-General, all for the time being, or the greater part of them, under their hands in writing ; and that no leases of any part of the said lands shall ever be made other than leases for years not exceeding thirty-one, in possession, and not in reversion or remainder, and not dispunishable of waste, whereon shall be reserved the best and most improved rents, that can reasonably and moderately, without racking the tenants, be gotten for the same, without fine. Provided always, and it is my will and earnest desire, that no lease of any part of the said lands, so to be purchased as aforesaid, shall ever be made to, or in trust for, any person any way concerned in the execution of this trust, or to, or in trust for, any person any way related or allied, either by consanguinity or affinity, to any of the persons who shall at that time be concerned in the execution of this trust : and that, if any leases shall happen to be made contrary to my intention above expressed, the same shall be utterly void, and of no effect. And I farther desire, until the charter herein after mentioned shall be obtained, my executors, or the survivors or survivor of them, his heirs, executors, or administrators, shall not act in the execution of this trust, but with the consent and approbation of the said seven additional trustees, or the greater part of them,

under their hands in writing, and shall, with such consent and approbation as aforesaid, have power, from time to time, to make rules, orders, and regulations, for the government and direction of the said hospital. And I make it my request to my said executors, that they may, in convenient time, apply to his Majesty for a charter to incorporate them, or such of them as shall be then living, and the said additional trustees, for the better management and conduct of this charity, with a power to purchase lands ; and to supply, by election, such vacancies happening in the corporation, as shall not be supplied by succession, and such other powers as may be thought expedient for the due execution of this trust, according to my intention herein before expressed. And, when such charter shall be obtained, I desire that my executors, or the survivors or survivor of them, or the heirs of such survivor, may convey, to the use of such corporation, in fee simple, for the purposes aforesaid, all such lands and tenements as shall be purchased, in manner above mentioned. Provided always, and it is my will and intention, that my executors, until the said charter, and afterwards the corporation, to be hereby incorporated, shall, out of the yearly profits of the said lands when purchased, and out of the yearly income of my said fortune devised to my executors as aforesaid, until such purchase

be made, have power to reimburse themselves for all such sums of their own money, as they shall necessarily expend in the execution of this trust. And that, until the said charter be obtained, all acts which shall at any time be done in the execution of this trust by the greater part of my executors then living, with the consent of the greater part of the said additional trustees, under their hands in writing, shall be as valid and effectual as if all my executors had concurred in the same.

Item, Whereas I purchased the inheritance of the tithes of the parish of Effernock, near Trim, in the county of Meath, for two hundred and sixty pounds sterling: I bequeath the said tithes to the vicars of Laracor, for the time being, that is to say, so long as the present episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith and profession in this kingdom: but, whenever any other form of Christian religion shall become the established faith in this kingdom, I leave the said tithes of Effernock to be bestowed, as the profits come in, to the poor of the said parish of Laracor, by a weekly proportion, and by such other officers as may then have the power of distributing charities to the poor of the said parish, while Christianity under any shape shall be tolerated among us, still excepting professed Jews, atheists, and infidels.

Item, Whereas I have some leases of certain

houses in Kevin's-Street, near the deanery-house, built upon the Dean's ground, and one other house, now inhabited by Henry Land, in Deanery-lane, alias Mitre-alley, some of which leases are let for forty-one years, or forty at least, and not yet half expired, I bequeath to Mrs Martha Whiteway my lease or leases of the said houses ; I also bequeath to the said Martha my lease, of forty years, of Goodman's Holding, for which I receive ten pounds *per annum* ; which are two houses or more, lately built ; I bequeath also to the said Martha the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, to be paid her by my executors out of my ready money, or bank-bills, immediately after my death, as soon as the executors meet. I leave, moreover, to the said Martha, my repeating gold watch, my yellow tortoise-shell snuff-box, and her choice of four gold rings, out of seven, which I now possess.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Mary Swift, alias Harrison, daughter of the said Martha, my plain gold watch made by Quare, to whom also I give my Japan writing-desk, bestowed to me by my Lady Worsley, my square tortoise-shell snuff-box, richly lined and inlaid with gold, given to me by the right honourable Henrietta, now Countess of Oxford, and the seal with a Pegasus, given to me by the Countess of Granville.

Item, I bequeath to Mr Ffolliot Whiteway,

eldest son of the aforesaid Martha, who is bred to be an attorney, the sum of sixty pounds, as also five pounds to be laid out in the purchase of such law-books as the honourable Mr Justice Lyndsay, Mr Stannard, or Mr M'Aulay, shall judge proper for him.

Item, I bequeath to Mr John Whiteway, youngest son of the said Martha, who is to be brought up a surgeon, the sum of one hundred pounds, in order to qualify him for a surgeon, but under the direction of his mother : which said sum of one hundred pounds is to be paid to Mrs Whiteway, in behalf of her said son John, out of the arrears which shall be due to me from my church livings, (except those of the deanery tithes, which are now let to the Rev. Doctor Wilson), as soon as the said arrears can be paid to my executors. I also leave the said John five pounds, to be laid out in buying such physical or chirurgical books as Doctor Grattan and Mr Nichols shall think fit for him.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Anne Ridgeway, now in my family, the profits of the leases of two houses let to John Cownly, for forty years, of which only eight or nine are expired, for which the said Cownly payeth me nine pounds sterling for rent, yearly. I also bequeath to the said Anne the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, to be paid her by my executors in six weeks after my decease, out of whatever mo-

ney or bank-bills I may possess when I die ; as also three gold rings, the remainder of the seven above mentioned, after Mrs Whiteway hath made her choice of four : and all my small pieces of plate, not exceeding in weight one ounce and one-third part of an ounce.

Item, I bequeath to my dearest friend Alexander Pope, of Twickenham, Esq. my picture in miniature, drawn by Zinck, of Robert, late Earl of Oxford.

Item, I leave to Edward, now Earl of Oxford, my seal of Julius Cæsar, as also another seal, supposed to be a young Hercules, both very choice antiques, and set in gold ; both which I choose to bestow to the said Earl, because they belonged to her late most excellent Majesty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, immortal, and truly pious memory, the real nursing-mother of her kingdoms.

Item, I leave to the reverend Mr James Stopford, Vicar of Finglass, my picture of King Charles the First, drawn by Vandyck, which was given to me by the said James ; also, my large picture of birds, which was given to me by Thomas, Earl of Pembroke.

Item, I bequeath to the reverend Mr Robert Grattan, Prebendary of St Audoen's, my gold bottle-screw, which he gave me, and my strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother Dr James Grattan, during the life of the said Doctor, who hath

more occasion for it, and the second best beaver hat I shall die possessed of.

Item, I bequeath to Mr John Grattan, Prebendary of Clonmethan, my silver box in which the freedom of the city of Cork was presented to me ; in which I desire the said John to keep the tobacco he usually cheweth, called pigtail.

Item, I bequeath all my horses and mares to the Reverend Mr John Jackson, Vicar of Santry, together with all my horse furniture : lamenting that I had not credit enough with any chief governor (since the change of times) to get some additional church preferment for so virtuous and worthy a gentleman. I also leave him my third best beaver hat.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Doctor Francis Wilson the works of Plato in three folio volumes, the Earl of Clarendon's History in three folio volumes, and my best Bible ; together with thirteen small Persian pictures in the drawing-room, and the small silver tankard given to me by the contribution of some friends, whose names are engraved at the bottom of the said tankard.

Item, I bequeath to the Earl of Orrery the enamelled silver plates to distinguish bottles of wine by, given to me by his excellent lady, and the half-length picture of the late Countess of Orkney in the drawing-room.

Item, I bequeath to Alexander M'Aulay, Esq.

the gold box in which the freedom of the city of Dublin was presented to me, as a testimony of the esteem and love I have for him on account of his great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence of the legal rights of the clergy, in opposition to all their unprovoked oppressors.

Item, I bequeath to Deane Swift, Esq. my large silver standish, consisting of a large silver plate, an ink-pot, a sand-box, and bell of the same metal.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Mary Barber, the medal of Queen Anne and Prince George, which she formerly gave me.

Item, I leave to the Reverend Mr John Worrall, my best beaver hat.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Doctor Patrick Delany, my medal of Queen Anne in silver, and on the reverse, the bishops of England kneeling before her most sacred Majesty.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Mr James King, Prebendary of Tipper, my large gilded medal of King Charles the First, and on the reverse, a crown of martyrdom, with other devices. My will, nevertheless, is, that if any of the above-mentioned legatees should die before me, that then, and in that case, the respective legacies to them bequeathed shall revert to myself, and become again subject to my disposal.

Item, Whereas I have the lease of a field in trust for me, commonly called the Vineyard, let to the Reverend Doctor Francis Corbet, and the trust declared by the said Doctor; the

Mrs Pilkington's description of Naboth's Vineyard is probably correct, though the mode in which it is given may be apocryphal. "I'll send for your husband," said the Dean, "to dine with us, and in the mean time we'll go and take a walk in Naboth's vineyard."—"Where may that be, sir?" said she.—"Why, a garden," said the Dean, "I cheated one of my neighbours out of."—When they entered the garden, or rather the field, which was square, and enclosed with a stone wall, the Dean asked her how she liked it? "Why, pray, sir," said she, "where is the garden?"—"Look behind you," said he. She did so; and observed the south wall was lined with brick, and a great number of fruit trees planted against it, which, being then in blossom, looked very beautiful. "What are you so intent on?" said the Dean.—"The opening bloom," replied she; which brought Waller's lines to her remembrance,

"Hope waits upon the flow'ry prime."

"Oh!" replied he, "you are in a poetical vein; I thought you had been taking notice of my wall. It is the best in Ireland. When the masons were building it (as most tradesmen are rogues), I watched them very close, and, as often as they could, they put in a rotten stone; of which, however, I took no notice, until they had built three or four perches beyond it. Now, as I am an absolute monarch in the liberties, and king of the rabble, my way with them was to have the wall thrown down to the place where I observed the rotten stone; and by doing so five or six times, the workmen were at last convinced it was their interest to be honest."

said field, with some land on this side of the road, making in all about three acres, for which I pay yearly to the Dean and chapter of St Patrick's ****

Whereas I have built a strong wall round the said piece of ground, eight or nine feet high, faced on the south aspect with brick, which cost me above six hundred pounds sterling : and likewise, another piece of ground as aforesaid, of half an acre, adjoining the burial-place, called the Cabbage-garden, now tenanted by William White, gardener : my will is, that the ground enclosed by the great wall may be sold for the remainder of the lease, at the highest price my executors can get for it, in belief and hopes that the said price will exceed three hundred pounds at the lowest value : for which my successor in the deanery shall have the first refusal : and it is my earnest desire, that the succeeding Deans and chapters may preserve the said Vineyard, and piece of land adjoining, where the said White now liveth, so as to be always in the hands of the succeeding Deans during their office, by each Dean lessening one-fourth of the purchase money to each succeeding Dean, and for no more than the present rent.

And I appoint the Honourable Robert Lindsay, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas ; Henry Singleton, Esq. Prime Sergeant to his Majesty ; the Reverend Doctor Patrick

Delany, Chancellor of St Patrick's ; the Reverend Doctor Francis Wilson, Prebendary of Kilmactolway ; Eaton Stannard, Esq. Recorder of the city of Dublin ; the Reverend Mr Robert Grattan, Prebendary of St Audoen's ; the Reverend Mr John Grattan, Prebendary of Clonmethan ; the Reverend Mr James Stopford, Vicar of Finglass ; the Reverend Mr James King, Prebendary of Tipper ; and Alexander M'Aulay, Esq. ; my executors.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and published and declared this as my last will and testament, this third day of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Signed, sealed, and published, by the above-named Jonathan Swift, in presence of us, who have subscribed our names in his presence.

Jo. Wynne.

Jo. Rochfort.

William Dunkin.

CODICIL TO THE WILL OF DEAN SWIFT;

Which, it is believed, was never published in any edition of the Life or Works of the Dean of St Patrick's.

[Dr Barrett, who has obligingly given me this copy, had not met with it when he published his " Essay on the Early Part of the Life of Swift."]

IN the name of God, Amen. I, JONATHAN SWIFT, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, being weak in body, but sound in mind, do make this codicil part of my last will and testament, and do appoint this writing to have the same force and effect thereof.

Whereas the Right Honourable Theophilus, Lord Newtown, deceased, did, by his last will and testament, bequeath unto Anne Brent a legacy of twenty pounds sterling a-year during her life, in consideration of the long and faithful service of her the said Anne : And whereas the said Anne, since the death of the said Lord Newtown, did intermarry with Anthony Ridgeway, of the city of Dublin, cabinet-maker ;

and that the said Anthony Ridgeway, and Anne his wife, for valuable considerations, did grant and assign unto me, the said Dr Swift, the said annuity or rent charge of twenty pounds sterling per annum, to hold to me, my executors, and administrators, during the life of the said Anne, and the said Anthony Ridgeway being since dead : Now I, the said Dr Swift, do hereby devise and bequeath unto the Reverend Dr John Wynne, Chanter of St Patrick's, Dublin, the Reverend Mr James King, Curate of St Bridget's, Dublin, and the Reverend Dr Francis Wilson, Prebendary of Kilmactolway, and the survivor or survivors of them, their heirs, executors, and administrators, the said annuity or yearly rent charge of twenty pounds sterling per annum, devised by the said Lord Newtown to the said Anne, to have, receive, and enjoy the same, during the life of the said Anne, to the uses, intents, and purposes herein after specified ; that is to say, it is my will, that my said trustees, and the survivor or survivors of them, his and their heirs, executors, and administrators, shall (so soon after they shall have received the annuity, or any part thereof, as conveniently they can) pay or cause to be paid unto the said Anne Ridgeway the said annuity of twenty pounds sterling per annum, during her life. In witness whereof, I, the said Dr Jonathan Swift, have

hereunto set my hand and seal, and published this codicil, as part of my last will and testament, this fifth day of May, 1740.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Signed, sealed, and published, in presence of us, who witnessed this codicil, in presence of the said testator.

John Lyon.

William Dunkin.

Roger Kendrick.

PRESENT STATE OF ST PATRICK'S HOSPITAL.

It may be interesting to the reader to know something of the history and present state of the Hospital, for the foundation of which Swift bequeathed his fortune.

It has been observed in the Memoirs, that Oxmantown Green was at one time proposed for the site of the intended asylum, (see p. 136, vol. ii.). But this plan was laid aside, and the building, as directed by Swift, in his will, was erected in the vicinity of Dr Steevens's Hospital, adjoining to James's-street, in the city of Dublin. The Dean is said to have observed, that if it could be made to reach from thence to the Phoenix Park, there would be always a sufficient number of occupants.

The trustees were incorporated by charter, 5th August, 1746. The funds bequeathed by the Dean being found inadequate to complete the building on the scale intended, they were augmented by contributions and legacies of well-disposed persons, and in 1757 the asylum was opened for reception of patients. The building, as it stands at present, forms a parallelogram, of which one of the more narrow sides is still open. The hospital consists of three stories; the female wards to the west of the building, ranging from south to north, and the wards for men toward the east, and ranging to the same points. The basement contains the offices necessary for the establishment. The cells are one hundred and sixty-nine in number, and the health of the unhappy patients is provided for by six separate galleries for exercise, which can be heated or ventilated according to the season of the year, and are kept in the highest order. These galleries open upon gardens and airing grounds, which the patients occupy when the nature of their cases will permit. I am informed, that the utmost order and cleanliness prevail throughout this asylum, and that the unfortunate inhabitants are, upon no occasion whatever, subjected to punishment or severity. The hospital, like the Bedlam of London, was formerly open to the public, but no visitors

are now admitted without a ticket from one of the governors.

In order to maintain this extensive establishment, it was found necessary to admit patients of the better ranks as boarders at different rates, according to their circumstances. There are at present in the hospital thirteen patients of the first class, at one hundred guineas per year; forty-one boarders of the second class, at sixty guineas per year; six respectable females maintained as boarders, but without expense; fifty-one paupers in the female, and fifty-two in the male wards;—amounting in all to one hundred and sixty-three patients.

From the funds bequeathed by the Dean, and by various other testators, particularly Sir Richard Levinge, Bart., Dr Sterne, Bishop of Clogher, Reverend John Worrall, Dr Joshua Pullen, and others, the endowment of the Trinity Hospital amounts to 2500*l.* a-year. Various grants have been made by the Irish Parliament, amounting in all to 8000*l.*, for the purpose of discharging debt and enlarging the establishment. The annual expenditure of the hospital amounts to 5500*l.* yearly, which is faithfully and judiciously laid out for the benevolent purposes of the institution.

These particulars are abridged from the information furnished to Mr Hartstonge by the Reverend Dean Keating of St Patrick's, whose unremitting attention to this excellent charity

is beyond all praise, and by Mr Campbell, the present master of the hospital, whose judicious and humane management ought not to be forgotten in this place.

THE CHARACTER OF DOCTOR SWIFT, AFTER HIS DEATH.

October 21st, 1734.

On Saturday last, died, at the Deanery-
House in Kevin Street,
The Rev. JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.
Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin :

The greatest genius that this or perhaps any other age
or nation ever produced.

His indefatigable application to study in his earlier
days induced a total deprivation of his
understanding, in which state he has
continued for some years past.

His writings,

Which must be admired as long as the English
language continues to be understood,
Are remarkable for a vein of wit and humour,
Which runs through the whole of them without
exception, and which is not to be met with
in those of any other author.

His satire, though poignant, was intended rather to
reform than ridicule ;

His manner was ever easy and natural ;

His thoughts new and pleasing ;

His style chaste and polished ;

His verse smooth and flowing.

In his private character he was no less excellent ;

His conversation was always pleasant and agreeable ;

He was pious without hypocrisy,

Virtuous without austerity,

And beneficent without ostentation.
 As he loved his country,
 So he was ever watchful of its interest,
 And zealous to promote it.
 No wonder then,
 That with these qualifications and endowments,
 He became the delight of his countrymen,
 And the admiration of foreigners.
 In short, it may with justice be said,
 That he was a great and good man,
 An honour to his country and to human nature.

A PORTRAIT OF DR SWIFT,

Presented to the University of Oxford, by the late John Barber, Esq., is placed in the Picture-Gallery there, with this Inscription :

IONATHAN SWIFT,
 DECAN. S. PATRIC. DVBL.
 EFFIGIEM VIRI MVSIS AMICISSIMI,
 INGENIO PRORSVS SIBI PROPRIO CELEBERRIMI,
 VT IPSUM SVIS OXONIENSIBVS ALIQVATENVS
 REDONARET,
 PARIETEM HABERE VOLVIT BODLEIANVM,
 A. D. MDCCXXXIX,
 IOHANNES BARBER, ARMIGER,
 ALDERMANNVS,
 NEC ITA PRIDEM PRAETOR LONDINENSIS.

In English :

JONATHAN SWIFT,
 DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
 This portrait of the Muses' friend,
 Of a happy turn of wit, peculiar to himself,

That he might in some sort be restored to his Oxford
Friends,

Was placed in the wall of the Bodleian gallery,

A. D. MDCCXXXIX,

At the desire of JOHN BARBER, Esquire,
Alderman, and some time Lord Mayor of London.

Dr Stopford, Bishop of Cloyne, who always acknowledged that he owed every step of his preferment entirely to Swift, paid the following tribute to the memory of his deceased friend and benefactor :—

MEMORIÆ JONATH. SWIFT, S.

“ QUEM vivum ex animo coluit, amico liceat mortuum deflere, atque hoc qualicumque fungi munere.

“ A. C. 1745, Octobris die 19^{mo} obiit JONATHAN SWIFT, Decanus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Patricii Dubliniensis; vixit annos septuaginta septem, decem menses, 19 dies.

“ Vir, ultra quam homini concessum videtur, maximis ornatus virtutibus. Vires ingenii mirandæ potius, quam a quoquam exoptandæ; quas exercuit præcipue in politicis et poetica.

“ Incorruptus inter pessimos mores; magni atque constantis animi; libertatis semper studiosissimus, atque nostri reipublicæ status, a Gothis quondam sapienter instituti, laudator

perpetuus, propugnator acerrimus. Cujus tamen formam, ambitu et largitione adeo fædatam ut vix nunc dignosci possit, sæpius indignabundus plorabat.

« Patriæ amore flagrans, sortem Hiberniæ quoties deflevit, quoties laboranti subvenit, testes epistolæ illæ nunquam interiturae, quibus, insulam misere labantem, jamque juga ahenea subeuntem, erexit, confirmavit; impiis inimicorum conatibus fortiter infractis, prostratis.

« Privatam si inspicias vitam, cum illo gratias, lepores, sales interiisse dicas; quibus suavissime sermones conditi, summo tamen cum decore, utpote cui unice propositum, quod verum, quod decens, amicis et civibus suis assidue commendare.

« Nec levior flagitiorum vindex, fraudes, ambitionem, avaritiam, dictis acerrime laceravit, exemplo feliciter oppressit.

« Erga bonos comis, liberalis, pius, commodis amicorum anxie inserviens; pro pauperibus semper sollicitus; quorum egestati in hac urbe mire consuluit, pecunia mutuo data infirmis artificum, in rata, eaque exigua portione, per septimanas rependenda, unde multi paupertati jam succumbentes, sese paulatim expedierunt.

« Idem, abstinentiæ exemplar antiquum, parce atque duriter rem familiarem adminis-

travit; quasque sibi inutiles spernebat opes, sedulo tamen comparatas, domui hospitali condendæ, moriens magnifice legavit; ubi idiotæ et lunatici, collati muneris ignari, pie semper tractarentur.

« Hic vir, tantus talisque, qui vividis ingenii viribus longe genus humanum superabat, a civibus ingratis diu neglectus, magnatum invidiam sæpius, gratiam vix unquam expertus, triginta duos annos latuit in Hiberniâ, nullo ultra decanatum insignitus titulo; quod tamen illi pro votis accidisse inter amicos constat, quippe cui semper in ore erat, ‘non tam referre, quo genere honorum sis ornatus, quam a quibus et inter quos.’

« Tandem senio, atque intolerandis capitis doloribus confectus, mente, memoria, sensu paulatim deficientibus, jamque penitus extinctis, per quatuor postremos vitæ annos, inter mœrentes amicos mortuus vixit; quem tamen omni laude dignissimum rite consecrant divina ingenii lumina.»

Scott, Walter,

Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, D. D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin in two
volumes

Bd.: 2

Paris (1826)

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